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COTTON MATHER.

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"ON Monday last," says the *New England Weekly Journal*, dated Feb. 26, 1728, "the Remains of the late very Reverend and Learned Dr. COTTON MATHER, who deceased the thirteenth instant, to the great Loss and Sorrow of this Town and Country, were very honorably interred. His Reverend Colleague, in deep Mourning, with the Brethren of the Church, walking in a Body, before the Corpse. The Six first Ministers of the Boston Lecture<sup>1</sup> supported the Pall. Several Gentlemen of the bereaved flock took their turns to bear the Coffin. After which followed, first, the bereaved Relatives, in Mourning; then his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives; and then a large train of Ministers, Justices, Merchants, Scholars, and other principal Inhabitants, both of Men and Women. The Streets were crowded with People, and the windows filled with sorrowful Spectators, all the way to the Burying place." The same newspaper, in its issue a week earlier, mentions him as one

"by whose Death, Persons of all Ranks are in Concern and Sorrow. He was," it continues, "perhaps, the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that ever was bred in it. But besides his unusual learning: his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular Goodness of temper, recommended him to all that were Judges of real and distinguished Merit:" and the forty-seven years of his professional life, it declares to have "been spent in the faithful and unwearied Discharge of a lively, zealous, and awakening Ministry, and in incessant Endeavours to do Good and spread abroad the Glory of Christ."

Nor were the pulpits of Boston silent upon this occasion. Various commemorative sermons followed his decease, four of which are still in print.<sup>2</sup> The Reverend Samuel Mather paid the tribute of filial affection to his father's memory, in his father's pulpit. The Reverend Benjamin Colman preached, the Thursday before the burial, as the Lecture, on Enoch's Translation. The Reverend

<sup>1</sup> The "Ministers of the Boston Lecture" were those who, each in turn, preached the Thursday Lecture in the First Church, a custom still continued.

<sup>2</sup> They are to be found in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Joshua Gee,<sup>1</sup> the Sabbath after the funeral, on the Mourning of Israel for Aaron. And the Reverend Thomas Prince, on Elisha's Lamentation for Elijah. The application of these themes is suggested by their mere mention; and while so discriminating and chaste as to be excellent examples in this species of literature, their eminently eulogistic tone expresses the general sadness which was felt at the loss of this distinguished man.

It is, of course, true, that neither the panegyrics of public prints, nor the subsequent praises of partial friends, are, independently, reliable materials for history. They are not adduced as such here. But the mere existence of four sermons upon his death; the public sorrow which crowded the streets with spectators of his funeral; the procession of scholars, merchants, clergymen, and officers of government, who, for once, met on common ground, and especially the presence of the Legislature of the Province, with Lieutenant Governor Dummer, then, as for five years previous, Acting Governor and Commander-in-chief, in days when the etiquette was that of a Royal Province, following to the grave a man who held no higher station and performed no other official service, than those of a mere Congregational minister, prove, beyond doubt, the respect and affection which Cotton Mather received from those who knew him. "One of the greatest of ministers," said the conscientious pastor of the Old South, "is fallen in Israel." "We mourn the decease from us," said the venerable minister of Brattle street, then in the twenty-ninth year of his pastorate, "of the first Minister in the Town, the first in age, the first in gifts and in grace. . . I might add, . . . the first in the whole Province and Provinces of New England, for so universal literature and so extensive services."

A sketch of the life of this man is merely an account of a minister of a Congregational Church in the town of Boston,

<sup>1</sup> Cotton Mather's colleague.

never the recipient of honors of state, attending faithfully to the duties of his pastoral station, never out of New England, and seldom varying his place beyond a journey to Ipswich or Dedham, or some intermediate town, when concerned in the ecclesiastical matters of the Province, and at the same time a student and writer such that his reputation became European, and his influence on New England ineradicable. We propose only to gather out of coteremporaneous records, his main characteristics.

COTTON MATHER was born in Boston, on the twelfth day of February, 1662-3. His father was the Reverend Increase Mather, pastor of the North Church in Boston, President of Harvard College, and an agent for the Province, in its times of need, to the courts of three English monarchs; and who, while outshone by the more brilliant talents of his son, surpassed him in some qualities which go to constitute true greatness; an eminently able and holy man, of wonderful energy, of sound judgment, of vigorous and clear intellect, of steadfast will, and of great power and warmth in the pulpit. His mother was Maria, the youngest child of the Reverend John Cotton; the latter well known as an holy as well as eminent man; for twenty years the clergyman of the Boston of Old England, and for twenty more the minister of the First Church of the Boston of New England; which, to honor him, received its name. Cotton Mather's grandfather, on the paternal side, was the Reverend Richard Mather, who, a fugitive from the persecutions of the Church of England, was the pastor of the First Church in Dorchester, an able and practised controversialist, and the principal author of the Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline; "divinely rich and learned Richard Mather," whose wife, Katherine Holt, of honorable descent, was more honorable for her uncommon devotion, and the instructions her son Increase never forgot; "Child," she used to say, "if God make thee a good Christ-

ian and a good scholar, thou hast all that ever thy mother asked for thee."

The family influences which surrounded Cotton Mather were, thus evidently, of the choicest character: they were those of Puritan families of the old stamp. It is true that he was but six years old when his grandfather Mather died; and that he knew only by description of the form of the venerable Cotton, with hair as white as the driven snow, who, majestic and yet affectionate, in air and spirit, grew more and more to bear a closer likeness to "that disciple whom Jesus loved," than any other New England minister. But his father's care sheltered him in childhood, and his counsels aided him till within four years of his own death; and tradition tells us that his mother, (who lived to say, "I have often blessed the Lord that made me the mother of such an eminent servant of God,") inherited the refined and saintly virtues of her father,—“a Gentlewoman of much Goodness in her Temper, a Godly, an Humble, and a Praying Woman, and one that often set apart whole Days for Prayer and Secret Interviews with Heaven."

Of this good lineage was Cotton Mather. "I have no great Disposition to enquire into the remote *Antiquities* of his Family," says his son Samuel;<sup>1</sup> "nor indeed is it a matter of much consequence," he continues with a modest vanity, "that in our Coat of Arms, we bear Ermine, Or, A Fess, Wavy, Azure, three Lions rampant; or, for a Crest, on a wreath of our Colours, a Lion Sedant, Or on a Trunk of a Tree vert." "The Religion and Learning found in the Family," he adds, with evident truth, "was the most agreeable Pleasure to my Father, and yields the most satisfactory Reflection to me." Cotton Mather's rank in the succession of this remarkable family, is doubtless accurately stated in the imagined epitaph of olden time:

<sup>1</sup> Life of Cotton Mather, by his Son, p. 3. This is a work of 188 pages, 12mo., issued in 1729, with a dedication to the University of Glasgow, a preface by Mr. Prince, and a list of subscribers.

"Under this stone lies Richard Mather,  
Who had a son greater than his father,  
And eke a grandson greater than either."

His education was at the free school in Boston, "under the care, first, of Mr. Benja. Thompson, a Man of great Learning and Wit, who was well acquainted with Roman and Greek Writers, and a good Poet; last, under the famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever,<sup>2</sup> who was a very learned, pious Man, and an excellent Schoolmaster." When he entered College, which was at twelve years of age, he had read Tully, Terence, Ovid, and Virgil; had gone through the Greek Testament, and had commenced Isocrates, Homer, and the Hebrew Grammar. In college, he was a close student, not only mastering the prescribed studies, but reading and commenting upon many works in general, as well as classic literature. He commenced here that course of wonderful erudition which placed him, within a few years, without dispute, at the head of the learned men of New England, and an equal, at least, of those of his age.

In 1678, he took his degree of Bachelor; he was then sixteen years of age. For several years following, while continuing his studies, he engaged in teaching; his work was principally to fit young men for college, and with the fervor and learning which characterized him, he was successful; many eminent men, some older than himself, thus felt his influence, not only mentally, but spiritually. In

<sup>2</sup> The subject of this sketch preached a funeral discourse upon the decease of Mr. Cheever, in the introduction to which he says: "He was born in London, . . . Jan. 25, 1614; he arrived into this country in June, 1637, with the rest of those good men who sought a peaceable secession in an American wilderness, for the pure Evangelical and Instituted worship of our Great Redeemer, to which he kept a strict adherence all his days. . . . He began the laborious work of a School Master at Newhaven, where he continued for twelve years;" then at Ipswich, from December, 1650, eleven years; at Charlestown, from Nov. 1661, nine years; at Boston, from Jan. 8, 1670, thirty-eight years. "He died on Saturday morning, Aug. 21, 1708, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, after he had been a skilful, painful, faithful School master for seventy years."

<sup>3</sup> Life, p. 4.

due time he took his second degree, receiving it, his son tells us, "from the hand of his father, who was then President;<sup>1</sup> the thesis which he maintained on that occasion, was "Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinae;"—a matter, however, in which he afterwards frankly admitted a change of views.

He was early habituated to the idea of entering the ministry; it would have been strange if, coming of such a family, he had not. But an obstacle, apparently insurmountable, "an uncommon impediment in his speech," forced him to abandon his purpose. He began the study of Medicine, and had advanced to a considerable extent, when "that good old Schoolmaster, Mr. Corlet," made him a visit on purpose to advise him; "Sir," said Mr. Corlet, "I should be glad if you would oblige yourself to a *dilated deliberation* in speaking; for as in Singing, there is no one who Stammers, so by prolonging your Pronunciation, you will get an Habit of speaking without Hesitation."<sup>2</sup> He followed this advice with perfect success, and, as soon as that success appeared, commenced the study of Theology, in which he had so far progressed in 1680, that on the twenty-second of August, he preached his first sermon, in the pulpit in Dorchester, where, eleven years previous, his grandfather's voice had been heard for the last time; his subject, suggested by the profession he had abandoned, was "Christ the Physician of Souls," from the text in Luke, (iv: 18,) "He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted."

Of his piety at that period there was no question. The sad and evil day had not then come to the churches, though casting its ominous shadow in advance, when it was held that an unregenerate man might properly be a minister of the word of God, and that inquiries as to his

personal religious experience were an impertinence; they felt that "if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch." But from childhood, he had given evidence of the renewing of the Holy Ghost. He was a child of praying parents; he had been given to God, and the promises of the covenant pleaded for him; his infant lips had been taught to pray. There is satisfactory evidence that as early as his fourteenth year he was a Christian, and his religious exercises were much earlier still. He had even then begun his days of fasting and prayer; had opened his heart to his father, and had been guided by him, in a manner most judicious for one so ardent and impulsive, to the true remedy for sin; and thus, after no little depth of conviction of sin, had come to such a faith in Christ, as ever made the Saviour the soul of his religion and his preaching. When past sixteen, on the thirty-first of August, 1679, he made a public profession of his faith, and united with his father's Church. About this period, he records how he set himself "upon the work of self-examination;" its result illustrates the tone of his piety at that period; "I find," he says, "I. Concerning my faith. I am convinced of the utter Insufficiency in my own Righteousness to procure my Salvation. I see my own Righteousness to be nothing in point of acceptance with God. I see a woful Hypocrisy has actuated me, Sluggishness and Selfishness hath attended me, in the neglect of all my Services. I perceive now no other way for my Salvation, but only by the Lord Jesus Christ; Refuge fails elsewhere on every Hand. I behold a Fulness and a Beauty in Jesus Christ; He is worth loving, worth praising, worth following. Such is my Desire to obtain an interest in Him, and make Him the only Portion and Support of my Soul, that it is one of my greatest Grievs, to find my Heart so dull in going forth after Him.

"II. Concerning my Repentance. I abhor sin, because it is abhorred by God

<sup>1</sup> A statement in the same paragraph, that he was then less than nineteen years of age, must be incorrect; that would make it in the year 1681, whereas President Mather did not enter on his office until 1685.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, &c., p. 26.



and contrary to Him. Sin is my heavy burden; Death itself would be welcome to me to free me from such a Burden. I am heartily troubled for the sin in my Heart, and that fountain of Corruption, the Plague of my heart afflicts me.

"III. Concerning my Love. I long to see and know the Frame of God unto me; the sight of That would make all my Afflictions light. I desire to be as active as may be in promoting the Honour of God; and I seldom come into any Company, without contriving, Whether I may not act or speak something for That in it, before I leave it. I am sorry that I love God no more. The Saints, that have the image of God, are those whom I value most." This experience was not sudden; it is recorded after years of spiritual search. It was not unintelligent; he was fitted for it by that thorough course of doctrinal instruction, which, though it be not understood at the time it is received, lies ready to be breathed upon by the Holy Spirit. Better still, it was scripturally developed; he had been a diligent student of the Bible, reading, habitually, fifteen chapters a day. It was prayerful; "when he began to speak, almost, he began to pray." It was the result of progressive steps; he had had "very frequent Returns of Doubts and Fears, and therefore resolutely and frequently renewed his Closure with Jesus Christ, as his only Relief against them." Under these circumstances, an intelligent Christian will hardly be prepared for a statement from one of his biographers,<sup>1</sup> that "The language is certainly constrained and excessive; apparently not so much meant to express his feelings, as to state a standard to which his feelings must be brought to conform,"—a remark which illustrates a fact explaining a large share of the systematic depreciation of Cotton Mather which this generation has witnessed, viz., the utter inability of most of his modern biographers to understand those deeper spiritual experiences of which

their own hearts are ignorant. They distort his character, because unable to appreciate its chief excellence. The piety which had its source in God, and whose outushings appear on every page of his diary, is contemptuously passed by, as enthusiasm or weakness. His chief merit they make his shame. This is not to be wondered at; "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned;" and these "spiritual" "things" are equally "foolishness" to the "natural man," when seen in the lives of the children of God. But while not to be wondered at, it should be borne in mind by every one who desires a true appreciation of the character of such a Christian.

On the 23d of February, 1680-1, the North Church<sup>2</sup> in Boston, gave him a unanimous invitation to become Assistant<sup>3</sup> to his father; it was a temporary service, without ordination; he accepted the proposition, and continued in it, (though, in November 1681, the Church in New Haven invited him to become their pastor,) until, on the eighth of January, 1682-3, the North Church unanimously invited him to become Colleague Pastor. After great deliberation, and repeated days of fasting and prayer on the subject, he accepted, though with trembling; he was ordained May 13, 1685, and then commenced a pastorate, which, after nearly half a century's continuance, ended only with his death.

The pastorate commencing under such favorable auspices,—over the Church of which he was a member, and which had

<sup>2</sup> Now, and for a quarter of a century past, under the care of Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, in whose excellent history of the Second Church, is an appreciative and beautifully written sketch of Cotton Mather. It is greatly to be regretted that a more extended life should not come from the same pen.

<sup>3</sup> The author of the Life in Sparks' series, professes inability to discover what that position was. Had the author read a little more carefully, and exercised a little more candor, his work would, perhaps, have been respectable.

<sup>1</sup> In Sparks' *American Biography*, vi: 177.

known him from his infancy, and under the guidance of his own father, was an eminently successful one. He took measures to make it successful. The exalted opinion of the sacred office, which had led him so long to hesitate on its threshold, had also led him to thorough preparation of heart and matured plans of action. He kept days of fasting and prayer, with especial reference to his ordination. He renewed his closure with Christ. About this time, the subject of entire consecration deeply engaged his attention, resulting in a thorough submission of his soul to God. In one of his days of preparation, he covenanted with God "that he would, out of love to Him, undertake the work before him; . . . he then promised these things to the Lord: That he would endeavor to be a faithful pastor over whom he should be placed: That he would endeavor to be Humble under whatever Enlargement should be vouchsafed unto him: That if God should give him to build up His Church with an unspotted Reputation, he would endeavor to be contented with whatever State should be ordered for him in the World, though never so Poor and many other ways afflicted." This Covenant he kept; and of its final pledge God gave him experience.

Throughout his life, Cotton Mather was a deeply pious man. He never forgot the man in the minister. He did not neglect his own heart. The system of fastings which he commenced, he carried on. His son reckoned up four hundred and fifty such days; and, in the latter part of his life, he observed a fast at least once a month, often once or twice a week. This may have been no merit: but as the results of such seasons he enjoyed delightful communion with God; his soul often melted within him at manifestations of the divine mercy; that he grew in grace by means of them, no Christian who reads his diary with an unbiassed mind, can doubt. His daily life partook of the same spirit; it overflowed into prayer. As he walked the streets, ejaculatory prayers

were constantly ascending to God. His very meditations, instead of being nebulous reveries, partook of the energy and system of his nature; having selected a theme, he considered it, first, doctrinally; secondly, practically, by examination of himself in regard to it; by expostulation with himself; and then, by new resolutions upon it, in "the strength of grace offered in the new Covenant." Such were his daily habits through life. Often, in the early days of his ministry, did he question his own heart, and reconsider his hope; perhaps the character of his early experience, in his inability to fix any definite time as that of his conversion, led him oftener to such examinations, which tended to settle his confidence. On one such occasion, (in 1681,) he concludes thus: "O my dear Lord, thy Father hath committed my soul unto thy hands; there's a Covenant of Redemption wherein I am concerned; I know my election by my vocation, and my concernment in that covenant by my being made willing to come under y<sup>e</sup> shadow of thy wings in the Covenant of Grace. Now in that Covenant, the Father said unto the Son, 'Such an elect soul there is, that I will bring into thy fold, and thou shalt undertake for that soul, as a Sufficient and an Eternal Saviour.' Wherefore I am now in thy hands, O my Lord; thy Father hath put me there: I have put myself there; O save me; O heal me; O work for me, work in me, the good pleasure of thy goodness." Some years afterwards, he writes: "I concluded with a triumphant hope that He would now delight in me, to do me good; and that God would have no controversy with me; and that I should, after a desirable manner, know Him, love Him, honor Him. Thus I should find my never-dying soul to be under the peculiar care of a loving and faithful Redeemer, in the times of the greatest extremities that should ever come upon me. Henceforward, rejoice, O my soul, in thy Saviour." Thus his early doubts passed away. He gradually came

into the full assurance of faith—not faith in himself—but faith in his Redeemer. When in the midst of his wonderful usefulness, he says of all his plans for doing good, “I knew . . . that I could not buy off the guilt of any omission whatever; I knew, I owned, that only the precious blood of the Lamb of God, signified anything to my soul.” “I am willing to be anything that God will have me to be. O, how hath he broken my heart, and ground it, and pressed it into powder before Him.” “I often compose little hymns,” he says, while alone and meditating, which he would sing; a fair specimen of them, is this:

“O glorious Christ of God, I live  
In view of Thee alone;  
Life to my gasping soul, O give;  
Shine Thou, or I’m undone.  
I cannot live, my God, if Thou  
Enliv’nest not my faith;  
I’m dead, I’m lost, O save me now,  
From a lamented death.  
My glorious healer, thou restore  
My health, and make me whole;  
But this is what I most desire,  
Oh for a healed soul!”

Of the faithfulness and power of his public ministrations, ample evidence exists. From the regular services of the Sabbath, and the weekly lecture, he would sometimes rise to the number of eleven successive days of preaching. Gifted with commanding personal appearance, with a delivery which, by severe discipline, had become impressive, his sermons well studied, his warm heart overflowing, his love of Christ pervading every exercise,—it needed not the reverence even then paid to the minister in his official character, to give him that immense influence over his crowded congregation, which he preserved through life. The character of his congregation may be inferred from the fact that, at one time, sixteen of the young men of his own families were members of Harvard College; while incidental references in cotemporary documents show, that the men of station, Judges, Governors, and the like, chose his Church in preference to others.

The character of his preaching was doctrinal. It is interesting to notice the titles of the sermons with which he commenced his ministry, not only as such, but because the tone of his preaching seems never to have been materially changed: “Having laid aside my own thoughts of being a *Physician*,” he says, “my two first sermons were on *ye Lord Jesus Christ as the physician of souls*.” The topics of the succeeding sermons, following in order, are: “We want a Saviour.” “Jesus Christ is a mighty Saviour.” He is “an only Saviour.” He is “an offered Saviour.” Christ “infalibly bestowing salvation on the believer.” “Works by which the Holy Spirit prepares men for the Lord Jesus.” “Election as the foundation of all.” “Preparation, in general.” “Conviction.” “Contrition.” “Separation from sin.” “On denial of one’s own righteousness.” “On denial of one’s own strength.” “On denial of one’s own will.” And thus having “advanced the *preparation* of my hearers,” “gave a solemn *invitation* to Him.” He then discoursed upon “Practical religion”; “Trouble”; “Effectual calling”; and the “New creature”; and following these, upon topics naturally subsequent in a system of truth. The doctrinal character of his early preaching is thus apparent; records show that in this respect he never changed. Not that he treated these topics in a dry and abstract way; on the contrary, they were the doctrines alive; they could not be anything else; for, in preparing his sermons, “on every Paragraph he made a pause, and endeavored with Acknowledgements and Ejaculations to Heaven, and with Self-Examinations, to feel some holy Impressions of the Truths in that Paragraph on his own Soul before he went any further. By means of this, the Seven hours which he usually took to Pen a Sermon, prov’d so many of Devotion with him. The Day in which he made a Sermon, left just such a Flavor on his Mind, as a Day of Prayer us’d to do.” Thus preaching to himself, and thus

embodying the vital truths of the Gospel, his sermons came with a power which neither dry doctrinal statements, nor mere exhortation, ever possess. That this theory of preaching commended itself to him, is evident from directions given, in the years of his ripe experience, to persons preparing for the ministry, in the *Manductio ad ministerium*, a work well deserving to be republished; and which expresses his own methods. Preach "well studied sermons," he says. Bring "beaten oil" into the sanctuary: and this he did in the height of his literary labors. "Your sermon must also be such that you may hope to have the Blood of your SAVIOUR sprinkled on it, and his Good SPIRIT breathing on it." "Go through the whole Body of Divinity,"—at the same time, attending to the "necessities of the People." His doctrinal preaching had its centre: "Exhibit as much as you can," he urges, "of a glorious CHRIST unto them: yea, let the Motto upon your whole Ministry be, CHRIST is all." "I make no doubt of it," he says, in language applicable now as then, "that the almost Epidemical Extinction of True Christianity, or what is little short of it, in the Nations that profess it, is very much owing to the inexcusable Impiety of overlooking a glorious Christ so much in the Empty Harangues, which often pass for Sermons." "What I wish for, and urge, is this: That your knowledge of the Mystery of CHRIST may conspicuously shine in your Sermons; and that it may be esteemed by you, as a Matchless Grace given unto you, if you may Preach the Unsearchable Riches of CHRIST unto the World. The Heavens do Praise that Wonder, the Angels in the Heavens are swallowed up in the Praises of that Wondrous ONE! Be, like them, never so much in your Element, as when the Person, the Offices, the Benefits, the Example, the Abasement, and Advancement of a Glorious CHRIST, are the subjects of your Sermons."

With such subjects, he understood the

sources of success: "This I insist upon; (and he described his own method,) That when you are to Preach, you should go directly from your Knees in your Study to the Pulpit; and when you are thus on your Knees in your Study, you should bewail the faulty Defects in your Life, which the Subject you are to treat upon should lead you to a Penitent Confession of: Humbly bewailing it also, that your Sermon is no better fitted for the awful Service that is before you." He went also to the root of the matter: "Consider yourself as a dying person, and one that must shortly put off this Earthly Tabernacle;" "begin to live," living unto God, "the Service of the Glorious God." It was because actuated by such motives, that he copied into his Bible, for daily use, the solemn charge his father gave him at his ordination; that he never composed a sermon until after fervent prayer, and careful study; that in all cases when at a loss for a text, he would make a prayer to the Holy Spirit for direction and assistance, "as well to find a text, as to handle it,"—"which seems" says the author in Sparks' Series, with his accustomed ignorance of the springs of divine life, "to be carrying the principle of dependence quite as far as it should go," but which the true believer in prayer will recognize as a simple element of childlike trust; and that his sermons were prayerful, scriptural, systematic and pungent. "The vital activity of the graces of Christ inspired into the souls of men," says Prince, "and the manner of turning and living to God, were the continued themes of his preaching, conversing and writing." He was, declares the same witness, "a son of thunder to impenitent sinners, . . . a son of consolation to discouraged souls, . . . a passionate pleader with all to come into the acceptance of Christ, and into the life and favor of God, . . . a fervent solicitor at the throne of grace." Such labors were blessed. In the first year of his ministry, over thirty souls were given to him as the seals of his ministry. How much of

the after success of his Church is to be assigned to him rather than to his father, it is, of course, impossible to tell; but during the ministry of both, over eleven hundred persons united with their Church upon profession of their faith in Christ; he had, as well during the absence, as presence, of his father, the largest congregation in New England, embracing in Church fellowship nearly or quite four hundred members, while there were six other churches existing in Boston at this date—the commencement of the last century; when, owing to the crowded state of his congregation, he endeavored to have a new Church formed “across the water,” out of his own, and offered to release part of his salary to help on such an enterprise, the attachment of his people prevented the desired result; and, in 1713, when the New North was formed, its “swarming” from his own Church was rendered absolutely necessary, by the crowded state of the meeting-house.<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Mather was, undoubtedly, an “old” and a “consistent” Calvinist. The topics of sermons already referred to, prove him a Calvinist; that he was an “old” Calvinist, in the phrase now used to distinguish the Calvinism of our fathers from the Calvinism, not changed, but defined, by President Edwards, and especially from the modified Calvinism held by some succeeding writers, is to be expected from his living in a time prior to such changes, and is fully seen in his own writings. The Westminster Assembly’s Shorter Catechism, “composed,” as he says, by “Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Arrowsmith, and Mr. Newcomen,” he fully and heartily accepted; the only changes he would make were additions; the answer to the nineteenth question, relating to the “misery of that estate whereinto Man fell,” he wished to strengthen by appending, “and enslaved into the power of darkness”; to the description of Christ’s office as a Priest,

(twentieth,) he would add, “in performing perfect obedience to the law of God, the everlasting rule of Righteousness”; and he would find another benefit accompanying Justification, in “the ministry of good angels for our good, and succor against the temptations of the Devil.” Where Calvinists of various shades now agree, he would have agreed with them; where they differ, he would have held to the “actual native depravity,” rather than to a sinless “proclivity to sin”; to the actual helplessness of human nature in such a state, rather than to any “power of contrary choice,”—although his sermons show that the inability of the sinner was not, in his mind, a “physical” inability, in the obnoxious sense of that term, but a “moral inability,”—reckoning a “moral inability” none the less “real” because it resides in the “moral” nature, and all the more “guilty” because “real”; to the existence of sin in the nature, and a denial that “all sin consists in action,” even if he took no exception to a phrase which, if not ambiguous, is faulty in construction; to the view that Christ’s sufferings were penal, in the sense of the old theologians, that “punishment” was “suffering endured on account of sins,” rather than suffering apart from the infliction of justice; to the legal title of the believer to eternal life, by the mysterious union between Christ and the believer—Christ taking the sins of the latter, and of right bearing them, and imparting to the believer the benefit of his own perfect righteousness—as when the husband, legally, is held for the prior debts of the wife, and is bound for her future support. And in this last point, did the theology of Cotton Mather centre: man a helpless sinner, Christ an entire Saviour—in the literal meaning, demands, and consequences of these terms. Hence, in his sermons, he dwelt much on the condemnation of the sinner, and the vicarious sacrifice of Christ; of the helplessness of the sinner, and the strength of Christ; of the deadness of the sinner, and of spiritual life through

<sup>1</sup> The author in Sparks’ Series, attributes, of course, wrong motives to Cotton Mather in his action regarding this transaction.

Christ; and these truths he held in their simple and obvious meanings.

These doctrines he preached; and with what results we have already seen. His sermons were learned, too learned sometimes; but all his learning he made tributary to the great object of preaching. His sermons were strong and thorough. In this they corresponded with the style of the old Calvinists. If the preaching of that day were reproduced, few modern audiences could understand it; were it demanded, few modern preachers could equal it in depth and power. In matters of taste, and in a more brilliant rhetoric, the present may surpass the past; in strength, learning, massiveness of structure, the New England pulpit does not equal what it was a century and a half ago. The ability which was popular in that day furnished the steady light of truth; the ability which is popular in this day, is that of pyrotechnic display. The former was enduring; the latter goes out when the show is over.

Cotton Mather's influence, through his power in the pulpit, was greatly heightened by his care for his people, out of the pulpit. "He thought it his duty to visit the families belonging to his Church." One, and sometimes two, afternoons in a week he devoted to that purpose. The pastoral visiting of that day is well illustrated by his manner of performing it. His visit, of which he had previously notified each family, was scrupulously restricted to spiritual matters, and was conducted in the most formal style; the "elder people" were first reminded of their duties, as to family prayer, the instruction of children, the care of servants, or other similar subjects; then, in order, the children and servants were catechised, or had the duties of secret prayer set before them, or of reading the Scriptures, or of filial obedience, or received explanations of the doctrines of religion. Prayer was an invariable accompaniment of these exercises; solemn questions were often left upon the mind; personal salvation was particularly urged;

"and many other such Methods he took for the Winning of Souls in this Discharge of his Ministry; And he enjoyed a most wonderful Presence of God with him in this undertaking; and seldom left a Family without Tears dropt by several in it." The warm affection of his kindly nature made even a formal routine alive. Nor did that "love to his Church" which "was very flaming," exhaust itself with these exercises; his rule was, never to let even an occasional interview with one of his people end, without some word of religious purport; books, selected with careful purpose, he systematically put into the hands of his people. Nor did his love stop here; he carried the souls of his people to his closet; not only in every case which touched peculiar sympathies, but, at stated times, a whole day, with strict fasting, he occupied, with the roll of his Church before him, in praying for each member by name, and asking God to enable him, with discriminating care, to meet the wants of each. This he did, not merely in the enthusiasm of impulsive youth, but when that enthusiasm had sobered into a strong and steady energy; and it was not neglected even in the days when his name had become distinguished at home and abroad. He felt "the unspeakable Worth of their Souls." "Slander itself, with all its boldness," says Rev. Dr. Robbins, "has not ventured to cast a reproach upon the sincerity of his pastoral affection, or the fidelity of his ministerial services."<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Mather's faithfulness was repaid by the affection of his people. They were proud of his talents, they revered his virtues, they felt his faithfulness. No calumnies—for calumnies came in his own life-time—seem to have weakened, in the least, their love. The slight, but significant tokens of their regard, were frequent. To his appeals for charitable contributions, they were alive; in one year contributing £62 for redeeming captives from the Indians, £53 for redeeming two per-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Second Church, p. 80.



sons from the Turks, £80 for relieving three young men from the same, £44 for relief of poor inhabitants of frontier Eastern towns, £53 on Fast-day, for the poor, and £60 at Thanksgiving, for propagating the Gospel; in all, £352. More than once his people came forward to pay the debts which he had incurred through connection with others; and when his wife died, they built a "costly tomb."

The personal character of Cotton Mather was such as to win regard. His morality is untarnished. In his domestic relations, his affectionate nature shone with peculiar excellence. Between himself and his father was the most endearing intercourse. Associated in the ministry, no jar ever disturbed those hallowed ties. He was always respectful and courteous, although traces of the influence of the younger over the elder are clearly discernible. His love to him was unbounded. They were like brothers, save that the father received a gentle reverence from the son. When the venerable parent was, in a ripe old age, drawing near to the grave, seldom a day passed without personal intercourse, in which the voices that had alternated in the house of God for more than forty years, loved to talk of heavenly things. It is pleasant to read of those interviews between the departing saint and the reverent son. "Concerning my son, Cotton Mather," said the father in his will,<sup>1</sup> "he has been a great comfort to me from his childhood, having been a very dutiful son, and a singular blessing to his father's family and flock." As a father, this son was kind; he made his children feel that he loved them. He did not keep "himself at an haughty distance from them," says his son, "but invariably condescended to them with a gentle and proper familiarity. Thus," he adds, "he would instruct and edify, thus allure and charm us; thus make us love his society, ever come into it with delight, and never leave it, but with sorrow." The punishment they dreaded most, was

to be sent away from his presence. He never neglected his family; he was their instructor, their guide, their friend. As alluring was he, also, to others. Instead of the crabbed, sour aspect, laboriously attributed to Cotton Mather, it is well authenticated that the charm of his social manner was irresistible. Says his colleague, Rev. Joshua Gee, "he was pious without pretence, serious without moroseness, grave but not austere, affable without meanness, and facetious without levity. He was peaceable in his temper, . . . catholic in his charity, abundant in his liberality, and obliging to strangers, though often ill-required." "His printed works," says Dr. Colman, "will not convey to posterity, nor give to strangers, a just idea of the real worth and great learning of the man. . . . It was conversation, and acquaintance with him in his familiar and occasional discourses and private communications, that discovered the vast compass of his knowledge, and the projections of his piety, more, I have sometimes thought, than all his pulpit exercises. Here he excelled. . . . Here it was seen how his wit and fancy, his invention, his quickness of thought and ready apprehension, were all consecrated to God, as well as his heart, will and affections; and, out of his abundance within, his lips overflowed, dropped as the honeycomb, fed all that came near him, and were as the choice silver for richness and brightness, pleasure and profit."

The predominant characteristic of Cotton Mather, was, undoubtedly, a desire to be useful. "The Ambition and Character of my Father's life," truly said his son, "was Serviceableness." "What good shall I do," was the subject of his daily thoughts, even from childhood. He evidently acquired this bent of disposition from his father's judicious moulding; his father's dying desire for him, was, that he might "do good while he lived, and glorify Christ in his death." His diary illustrates, though it does not do full justice to, his character in this particular. All his

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Second Church, pp. 212-14.



plans aimed to *accomplish* something. He was not a minister, for the sake of being a minister, but for doing something for Christ. He did not write sermons for the sake of sermons, nor did he preach, Sabbath by Sabbath, for the sake of duty, but he wrote and preached that by sermons and Sabbath duties, he might win souls. He was constantly devising plans of usefulness. Many of these are recorded, as day by day, he wrote down his purposes and their accomplishment. He asks himself what good he can do to various classes; now, (and the following are selected at random as we turn to various places in his diary,)—candidates for the ministry; again, his father; or, his “servants”; “a nurse” in his family; “a family likely to be broken in pieces”; “a widow”; “a drunken creature” near by; his “father-in-law.” At one time, he preaches to widows, who then (in 1718) formed one fifth of all his communicants. “Let me *write* something that may do good unto young people when I am gone,” he says in 1681. Often he preached to the poor and old in the almshouse. “Here is an old Hawker,” he says, in 1683, “who will fill the country with devout and useful Books, if I will direct him. I will therefore direct and assist him, as far as I can, in doing so.” In 1683, he established a “young people’s prayer-meeting,” which so prospered as to be, of necessity, divided territorially, and which continued for years; indeed he, throughout life, retained his interest in the young, and was beloved by them; repeatedly they asked for the publication of sermons addressed to them; at one time they observed a day of special thanksgiving for himself and his father; his “Token for the Children in New England” was published at their desire; in 1724, only four years before his death, nearly a hundred “little damsels” attended his catechetical exercise, a conclusive proof—unless “little damsels” were then under stricter government than they are now—of the affection which led them to group around a pastor over sixty years of

age; and a touching evidence of the faithfulness of one who, with a reputation then European, and with a life crowded with care, loved to teach the children of his people.

His *method* of usefulness illustrates also his character. Every morning had its regular question: on the Sabbath, What shall I do, as a pastor of a Church, for the good of the flock under my charge? On Monday, What shall I do in my family, and for the good of it? On Tuesday, What shall I do for my relations abroad, or, What shall I do for enemies? On Wednesday, What shall I do for the churches of the Lord, and the more general interests of religion in the world? On Thursday, What good may I do in the several societies to which I am related? or, Is there any particular person able to do good which lies out of my more immediate reach, to whom I may offer some good proposals? On Friday, What special subjects of affliction, and objects of compassion, may I take under my particular care, and what shall I do for them? On Saturday, What more have I to do for the interest of God in my own heart and life? These were his specific questions, morning after morning, for years, while dressing; as soon as he entered his study, the results of his thoughts were entered in his “Book of hints to be spoken or done;” and, by his rigidly systematic division of time, he accomplished his purposes.

Among the more public methods of usefulness designed by Cotton Mather, some deserve particular mention. Perceiving the ignorant and neglected condition of the negroes in Boston, he established a school for them, engaged a teacher, and, for years, supported it at his sole expense. The Concert of Prayer, supposed to be a recent plan, had its American origin with Cotton Mather, in his establishing, (copying it from an observance in England,) a prayer-meeting for all Christians from 11 to 12 o’clock, A. M., of every Monday, in which many churches were led to engage.

The power of organization to promote works of Christian benevolence, if not originated by, yet had its vitality from, him. He was an active member of over twenty such societies, of the most of which, perhaps all, he was the founder. One was a plan for aiding feeble parishes in building churches, to which his own and some other churches largely contributed,—the predecessor of our own Union. He originated a society for sending the gospel to the heathen, in which, although practically restricted to the Indian tribes, his own large heart contemplated the “poor Greeks, Armenians, and Muscovites,”—the forerunner of a work whose fulfillment shows him to have been a century before his age. Another society so formed was one to distribute tracts or books, and he repeatedly gave away over a thousand volumes in a year,—a system which has covered our country with a sound and saving literature, since renewed a quarter of a century ago. A society for benefitting seamen, another for the distribution of Bibles, and another for establishing religious charity schools, are as familiar to us as they were new to Cotton Mather. Young Men’s Christian Associations are now characterized as a new feature of Christian progress, but they were formed, substantially in their present shape, by this servant of God; he calls them “Societies of Young Men Associated,” describes them in all essential features like those of the present day, and declares their success; “these, duly managed,” he says, “have been incomparable Nurseries to the churches, where the faithful Pastors have countenanced them. Young men are hereby preserved from very many Temptations, rescued from the Paths of the Destroyer, Confirmed in the right usages of the Lord, and Prepared mightily for such Religious Exercises as will be expected of them when they come to be themselves Householders;” the very system which he drew up for the conducting of these meetings, would scarce be felt an innovation if fol-

lowed to-day; and the plan so far succeeded, that a division became necessary, in the Boston of 1710. Thus, in organizing such societies as those which are now the almoners of the churches, we are following an old track. They were then in successful operation; and it is a wonderful and mournful exhibit of the blight which swept over the churches in the last century, that their very name was lost, and their existence is now exhumed as a relic of a by-gone age. They are the ruined cities, fallen temples, and shattered statues of an extinct civilization, whose very authors were forgotten in the occupancy of the succeeding race.

One of the best of the works of Cotton Mather is worthy of notice as bearing upon this subject. It is a book of 109 pages, 18mo., first published in 1710, republished in a mangled shape, in 1807, and again restored, in 1845, by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. It is entitled,

### Bonifacius.

#### AN ESSAY

upon the GOOD that is to be  
Devised and Designed by THOSE  
Who Desire to Answer the Great END  
of *Life*, and to DO GOOD  
While they *Live*.

This book is full of minute practical suggestions, upon the question “What may I do for the service of God and the Welfare of man?” In answer, he is, first, to attend “to his own heart and life.” Then, “let every one consider the Relations wherein the Sovereign God has placed him.” These he takes in the following order: 1, Conjugal; 2, Parental; 3, that of Master and Servant; 4, that of Neighbour, in which he specifies, as desirable, private religious meetings, neighbourhood associations, societies of young people, and the like; and in connection with that, he speaks of meetings of “young men associated.” Proceeding to more public ways of doing good, he addresses, first, ministers, then schoolmasters, church-

es, magistrates, physicians, rich men, elders and deacons, Representatives in the provincial Legislature, constables, tything men, military commanders, ship-masters, lawyers and judges,—suggesting, in detail, plans for usefulness which were evidently the results of his mature experience. In the preface to this work, he says, that “He is very strongly persuaded There is a Day very near at hand, when Books of such a Tendency as this will be the most welcome Things imaginable to many Thousands of Readers, and have more than one edition.” He was correct. Its author seemed also, with prophetic glance, to perceive now existing schemes: “A vast Variety of new Ways to do Good will be hit upon: Paths which no Fowl of the Best Flight at Noble Designs has yet known; and which the Vulture’s most Piercing Eye has never passed.” But this little book itself is perpetuated in American prosperity; it helped form the character of one of the men who left the deepest mark of his moulding on the character of this country; it was Benjamin Franklin. “When I was a boy,” writes that distinguished man to Samuel Mather, “I met with a book entitled, ‘Essays to do Good,’ which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by its former possessor that several leaves of it were torn out, but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence upon my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes all the advantage of it to that book.”

It is unnecessary to enter into minute detail regarding Cotton Mather’s literary character. His published works, amounting, says his son, to three hundred and eighty-three, will best illustrate his universal learning, although they may be inadequate, as Colman declares, to present a just idea of the man. Blessed with what his son calls “a modest inquis-

itiveness,” and with “a great capacity for learning,” he could grasp the contents of a book while ordinary readers had hardly entered upon it. His insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a wonderfully retentive memory, made him, eventually, the first scholar of New England. While, from his peculiar training, Greek and Latin were to him as his mother tongue, he made himself master of the French and Spanish languages, that he might write treatises in them, and in his forty-fifth year, he “conquered the Iroquois Indian,” in which he published works for the instruction of the natives. In his studies he evidently traversed the whole range of literature. The Rev. Joshua Gee speaks of “The capacity of his mind; the readiness of his wit; the vastness of his reading; the strength of his memory; the variety and treasure of his learning, in printed works, and in manuscripts which contain a much greater share,” in addition to “the splendor of virtues which from the abundant grace of God within him shone out in the constant tenor of a most entertaining and profitable conversation.” And Dr. Chauncy testifies that there were hardly any books in existence with which Cotton Mather was unacquainted. His own library numbered, in 1700, “several thousands of books.”

The very extent of Cotton Mather’s learning, occasioned the chief defect in his writings. His mind was filled with accumulated materials, of which a proper assimilation, was, in the hurry of his life, and the constant use of his knowledge, impossible. The reader of his works is astonished at the immense learning which they display; but the clearness, strength, and vigor, of the framework, will make him regret that the author did not know less, or wish that he had found time to train, more carefully, the remarkable abilities which he plainly exhibits. He uses his knowledge in its crude state, always pouring it out in a flood on every subject which occupied his pen. The style, too, is often encumbered with puns,

anagrams, and far-fetched conceits; it is loaded with long and tiresome quotations from Latin and Greek; it struggles under heaps of ancient history, or classic mythology. But it is not always so; sometimes he rises with his subject above the style of his age; he ascends into a purer atmosphere, and writes plain, clear, common-sense English. His *Essays to do Good*, furnish evidences of the latter: the former is seen in much of the *Magnalia*,<sup>1</sup> a

chaotic mass of crude materials of New England history, although even in that are passages of such excellence that Graham declared it to be the most interesting work the literature of the country had produced, and that many of its biographical parts are superior to Plutarch.<sup>2</sup>

Of these three hundred and eighty-three works, (two of which were published after his death,) his son gives a list.<sup>3</sup> He began to publish in 1686, one or two only being issued in each of several years, but the number rising to eight or ten a year, and once as high as sixteen. No after year of his life passed without a publication. Many of these works are sermons, funeral discourses, or tracts, suggested by now obsolete, but then engrossing occurrences, and hence are short. But with all the abatement due to this fact, his remarkable fertility puts to the blush men of ordinary industry. Some were works of size and value.

<sup>1</sup> This work was published in England in 1702; the first edition was a folio, of 790 pages, of which the upper part of the title page reads thus:

*Magnalia Christi Americana;*

OR, THE

### **Ecclesiastical History**

OF

### **NEW ENGLAND.**

FROM

Its first Planting in the year 1620, unto the year of our Lord, 1698.

It is divided into seven books, embracing respectively, the antiquities, lives of the Governors, lives of Divines, history of the University, acts of Synods and other ecclesiastical matters, mercies and providences, and the works of the Lord, and an appendix contains the remarkable occurrences in the Indian War of 1688-'98. No work has been more abused by antiquarians than this, and none more habitually followed by the same individuals. While certainly deficient, and occasionally erroneous, nothing else could be expected when a work sufficient for a lifetime was dispatched in a few years; and with all its faults, it is the storehouse of Massachusetts history. Men may abuse, but they must use it.

"Cotton Mather himself says," (we quote from Dr. Robbins' history,) "he does not wonder that there were some who disliked and abused the *Magnalia*, because it was written to serve the interests of real, solid, vital piety, rather than a formal religion; and because, showing the virtues of the Non-conformists, it of course set in a strong light, the persecuting spirit from which they suffered." "There is a good deal of point in such remarks as the following," in allusion to some of John Oldmixon's strictures, in a work called "The English Empire in America:" "The accusers," says Mather, "would have it believed that the Church history is very trivial in the matter of it. Yes, by all means! The marvellous works of God in producing and maintaining and afflicting and relieving of colonies in a matchless manner, formed upon the noble intentions of pure and undefiled religion, and the bright patterns of living up to it, seen in the lives of such men, and as choice materials as a Church History can be composed of, these are trivial matters! Come, then, let us go to master Oldmixon for important matters. It is a trouble unto me to descend unto anything so ludicrous; but it is he, and not I, that must answer

for it. In his history, wherein he rails at ours, you shall find whole pages consecrated unto long, long, tiresome relations of some that he singles out as the more curious events; he calls 'em so. These curious events are, 'that a couple of starved Indians (at Hudson's Bay) went a-fishing,—and then a-hunting,—and met with only two moose,—and how 'twas,—and how, the geese flying away to the southward in October, the people there [such their sagacity!] knew that hard weather was approaching;—and in November [oh, marvellous!] it snowed. And then,—a long tedious narrative, how they caught partridges, [not woodcocks!] yea [an exploit that should be told unto future generations], four men, in a week's time, killed six and twenty. And then [a terrible thing happened, as much to be remembered as the Sicilian earthquakes] in December, a boy had his feet hurt with the frost.' And an hundred more such curious events is this history set off withal. These, it seems, are the important matters that are most worthy of a room in history. A Church History, furnished as aforesaid, has only trivial matters for you!"

<sup>2</sup> The gratitude due to Cotton Mather from every one who holds in esteem the memory of the early worthies of New England, may be seen in the fact that, by the year 1718, he had published the lives of no less than one hundred and fourteen men, and twenty women, and that subsequent years increased the list. One of his best biographical works is his life of his father, the venerable Increase Mather,—whose memory will be, by and by, commemorated in these pages.

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, &c., p. 161-178.

In addition to the *Magnalia*, the *Manuductio ad ministerium*, and the *Essays* to do Good, the most valuable were his *Christian Philosopher*, and his *Ratio Discipline Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*. The former is an excellent work, of a popular cast, in which he arranges the facts of the natural sciences in a way to present in a strong light the goodness and power of God. The latter is a work exhibiting the order of the churches of New England, and is a clear, able, systematic exhibit of Congregational usages, not only at that period, but as practised at present. While the author of as good a treatise upon our Church polity as ever has been written, and one which embodies all the minute details which everybody wants to know, but which few writers furnish,—it is proper to say that whatever leaning there may be in our polity towards Presbyterian ways, including the Consociation system of Connecticut, that leaning is due to Cotton Mather; this will be explained, however, farther on.

The work of Cotton Mather on which the labor of his life was bestowed, was never published; still in manuscript, it is in the ownership of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is entitled, *Biblia Americana*, and consists mainly of comments and illustrations upon the Scriptures. It occupies six volumes, near folio size, and comprising hundreds of pages. Prefixed to the commentary as such, are, first, a chronological arrangement of the Old Testament; secondly, a "harmony" of the New Testament; thirdly, an account of the division of the Bible in chapters and verses, with tables of the numbers and position of each; and fourthly, an essay on the old chronology, with arguments to remove apparent discrepancies. The comments, which occupy all except a portion of the first volume, were accumulated by daily study and writing, and commencing in his thirty-first year, were the work of his life.<sup>1</sup> The appear-

ance of the manuscript indicates that blank leaves were assigned to the various books of the Bible, and that he entered in their appropriate place such thoughts of his own, or comments of others, or illustrations from any and every source, as occurred to him. Hence some parts are crowded, while others pass without notice. It is, in reality, the unfinished plan of a work of immense labor, knowledge, and research. So far as learning goes, it is probably without an equal among commentaries; while its practical value to ordinary students would be but slight.

That Cotton Mather's abilities were appreciated in his own home, has already been seen. It was not many years before his fame as a man of letters crossed the Atlantic, and gained him the fellowship of other learned men. He had a "numerous and extensive correspondence" with Europeans, at one time having on his list over fifty men of education. Quite a number of these were Scotch divines, to whom he was drawn by theological sympathies; and Danish missionaries, in whose efforts his own heart was deeply engaged. Of others, it is to be regretted that his son preserved the names of only a few living at the time of his own writing; among them were Lord Chancellor King, Sir Richard Blackmore, Mr. Whiston, of mathematical celebrity, and Dr. Franckius, of Halle. It is a greater proof, perhaps, of his foreign reputation, that in his forty-seventh year, (1710,) the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the then distinguished honor of the Doctorate in Divinity; "the high value the University sets upon you," wrote the Vice-Chancellor, Johnson was once asked how it was that the Christian Fathers, and the men of other times, could find leisure to fill so many folios with the productions of their pens. 'Nothing is easier,' said he; and he at once began a calculation to show what would be the effect in the ordinary term of a man's life, if he wrote only one octavo page in a day; and the question was solved. . . . In this manner, manuscripts have accumulated on my hands until I have been surprised to find that by this slow and steady process, I have been enabled to prepare eleven volumes on the New Testament, and five on portions of the Old Testament."—Rev. Albert Barnes' "Life at Three Score."

<sup>1</sup> "Manuscripts, when a man writes every day, even though he writes but little, accumulate. Dr.

"I hope you will no longer doubt, when I tell you that they have confer'd the highest Academical Degree upon You, the Doctorate in Divinity; which I am persuaded is but what you deserve." And, three years later, he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. His name is the first on the list of the graduates of Harvard College to receive the latter honor, and the third bearing the former,—Benjamin Woodbridge and Increase Mather being the predecessors.

That Cotton Mather, in the midst of a faithful performance of his first, his parochial, duties, should find time to issue so many books, and accumulate such a mass of manuscripts, was owing to his untiring industry. His division of time was rigidly systematic; no moment was suffered to be lost. It is a matter of surprise how he could endure the rigidity of a system of study to which his stern sense of duty had trained his impetuous nature. In fact, in reading his diary, or his son's account of his daily life, we long for more elasticity. We feel that had he left his study oftener, and been more with men, in spite, if need be, of the artificial sanctity then setting the minister apart from others, it had been better for him. We long to have him cast aside his too sedate and solemn dignity of exterior, which sat perhaps as gracefully on him as on any of his day, and be as fresh and natural as a child. We wish he could have felt that he was a man before he was a minister, and a boy before he was a man, and to have the heart of a true minister he would still be both. The musty study is good in its due share; but God's free air and sunshine, and meeting with other eyes and hands and hearts, is far better. We respect the man who wears a hole in his study floor, but as for choosing him as guide in theology, or practical Christian work, that were absurd. We want the man who knows nature and human nature. The day has gone by, it is to be devoutly hoped, when a minister's stupidity in earthly things, is proof of his knowledge

of the heavenly. And here Cotton Mather failed. But for his natural practical cast of character, and his ministerial training under the care of an experienced pastor, he would have *entirely* failed. As it was, he dwelt too much in an unreal atmosphere. He saw matters with clerical eyes. He needed to have truth "depolarized,"—as will any man trained scholastically. And this because he lived in his study: and there we are forced to commend his industry, wishing all the time he had been less industrious.

One Sabbath day's history will illustrate this. In the morning, arising, as usual on the Sabbath, earlier than on other days of the week, he considered his Sabbath morning question; he sang his morning hymn; he noted down the answers to his "question;" he sought his God in prayer, personally and specially appropriate; he kept, as all through the day, his thoughts on religious things, and was continually "forming Admonitions of Piety from occasional Objects and Occurrences;" he guarded his tongue by special care; he wrote an illustration upon a Scripture text; he read a portion of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, another in the French, and then a portion of the New Testament in Greek; "then he made the Morning Prayer of his Study;" he "meditated;" he prayed and sang with his family; he gave charges to his children, and assigned to those too young to attend public worship, suitable passages of Scripture to be committed to memory; again in his study, he prayed with reference to the coming public service; listening to his venerated father's voice, "not one Head or Text, and scarce one Sentence in the Sermon passed without his Mind moving towards Heaven;" returning to his study, he read over some "Discourses on the great Sabbatism which the Church of God is to look for, and the glorious Things which are spoken about the City of God;" at the table, to which, every Sabbath, he invited some of the poor, "he fed the



Souls of the Company;" dinner ended, he read Scripture, referring to the Sabbatism which before was the subject of his thoughts, and he prayed and sang a hymn regarding it; again, he prayed for Zion; he read through the sermon he was about to preach, and prayed as well for personal grace as to its exhortations, as for its public success; he preached, "and spent about three Hours in carrying on the Service there, in a great Assembly;" "excessively tired," he "drank his beloved tea;" he prayed for his daily needs; he catechised the children, and "went through the Sermons with them," and faithfully taught them in their duties; having left a son to catechise the servants, he retired to his study, and then asked himself, What have I left undone that it would be for my Consolation and Satisfaction to do before I die; he read "in a book of Piety, a Sermon that might add unto the Heavenly Tincture on his Mind;" he was called to pray with a sick person; returning, he renewed his instructions to his children; he sang, with the family, the evening hymn; again, in his study, he gave thanks to God for the mercies of the day, and committed himself to the "hands of his dear Saviour;" "so he went to Rest."

An account of one day, and that not unusual in its labors, is as follows: "This Day I performed the Duties of my general Calling, instructed the Scholars under my charge, underwent the Diversion of Meals and Company, with whom I was a considerable while; I made a long Sermon and preached it; I spent more than a little Time at the private Meeting, where I preached, and read over Knox's Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon." We should certainly suspect the results of these employments to be but superficial, did we not know from his sermons themselves their value, and from his writings, his clear understanding and memory of what he read.

One year, after his fiftieth had passed, affords, as recorded in his diary, the fol-

lowing history: that he had preached above seventy-two public sermons and nearly half as many private ones; that not one day had passed without a record of some plan to do good; that no day had ended in which some portion, however small, of his income, had not been set apart for benevolence; that he had prepared and published fourteen books; and that he had kept sixty fasts and twenty-two vigils,—besides attending regularly to his other varied duties. Nor was this a year of peculiar industry.

The whole secret of the abundance of his works is his careful employment of every moment of time. "He worked,—worked as hard and as much as any man that ever lived. He saved and used every minute with wonderful method and energy. And he did this conscientiously. He was industrious from principle."<sup>1</sup> It is true that much of the learning he amassed was, as we estimate it, useless; but it seemed so neither to him nor to his age. He meant to use it in his sermons and other works which, as had all his works, had as their object to advance the cause of Christ. The notice over his study door, "BE SHORT," was a conscientious admonition of the value of his time, on which, however, the visitor, in the cordiality of his reception, and the charm of its occupant's conversation, was apt to trench.

"When to such characteristics are added purity of life, unstained, so far as it is known, or even suspected, by a single blot; subjection of the appetites, even to their mortification; systematic self-regulation, in conformity to rules which he conscientiously believed to be of divine sanction; love of "the just liberties of mankind,"—for this also may be ranked with the virtues, having its root and issue in justice;—and a firm and faithful patriotism, which, if not one of the sacred sisterhood, consorts with that high company,"<sup>2</sup> we have the foundation of a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Robbins' Hist. Sec. Ch., p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Robbins' History, p. 84.



character which, essentially righteous and noble, can bear its incidental faults without apology or shame.

That he had his faults no one can doubt. They are conspicuous to every student of his life. The great amount of calumny thrown upon him, the misunderstanding which his eccentricities invariably cause in the superficial observer, the differences of opinion of which he has been the subject, and the shifting hues of the surface of his life, are presumptive of the existence of what a biographer, whose sole desire was to exalt rather than describe the man, would wish to blot. If those faults, and mistakes, and follies, were the substance of his character, then the representatives of "liberal"<sup>1</sup> Christians are justifiable. If they were incidental only, then a writer need not blush to state them. Such as they were, they were sources of vexation to him in his own lifetime. No new faults have been discovered since, although his diary<sup>2</sup> has furnished a record of his most secret thoughts, and thus, of course, has enabled opposers to extract every foolish record, and unguarded—because secret—expression of his feelings.

The injustice done to his memory is not so much in alleging faults, as in so magnifying them that they seem to prove, necessarily, a bad heart; not in exhibiting his eccentricities as in so arranging them as to make the eccentricities appear to be the man; not in condemning what was wrong, but in wholesale reproach; every advantage is taken of his mistakes; his errors are torn away from the causes which occasioned them; and wherever

an act is susceptible of a bad motive, the bad is invariably preferred to the good. "An individual," says President Quincy's able, but liberal *History of Harvard University*,<sup>3</sup> "of ungovernable passions and of questionable principles; credulous, intriguing, and vindictive; often selfish as to ends, at times little scrupulous in the use of means; wayward, aspiring, and vain; rendering his piety dubious by display, and the motives of his public services suspected by the obtrusiveness of his claims to honor and place."<sup>4</sup> "There is something in the heart," well says Dr. Robbins, "that warns us to beware of wholesale censure, to look behind stereotyped terms of reproach, and not to take ignominious brands as unquestionable proofs of guilt." "Even before I had studied Cotton Mather, in his writings and acts, separately from the coloring of modern biographers, and the attitude in which historians had placed him, a suspicion had long since haunted me that his faults had been unintentionally exaggerated." After such a study he writes, "And now, can this person, with such aims, whose life was devoted to such objects and crowned with such an end, have been other than an essentially righteous and intrinsically good man? It is impossible to find any key to the interpretation of his history, any explanation of the main and constant facts of his life, any harmony between his works and his motives, any congruity between his line of conduct and his line of purpose, except on the principle that he was really conscientious, benevolent, and devout."

Cotton Mather has been charged with

<sup>1</sup> *Lucus a non lucendo?*

<sup>2</sup> This diary, continued most of his life, is, principally, in existence. The record of each year forms a pamphlet of itself, and thus the various years have been scattered. The records of the years 1681, 1683, 1685, 1686, 1693, 1697, 1698, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1705, 1706, 1718, 1721, and 1724, are in the inestimable Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whose kind permission the writer is allowed to make free use of the manuscripts of Cotton Mather. The records for the years 1692, 1696, 1699, 1703, 1709, 1711, 1713, and 1717, are in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester.

<sup>3</sup> We observe in some of the Catalogues of our Theological Seminaries, this same blunder as to the name of the institution at Cambridge. There is no "*Harvard University*;" "*Harvard College*" is known to the laws of this Commonwealth, and it is a part of what is called "*The University at Cambridge*." Having no right to suggest a return to the legal and proper title in the annual Catalogues of that institution, we do venture to suggest correctness in our denominational issues. The Hon. Edward Everett, former President, may be considered fair authority,—as well as the statutes of Massachusetts.

<sup>4</sup> 1: 346.

*pride.* It is undeniable that he exhibited, at least, vanity. It was exhibited in ways which none can admire, and which were often repulsive. But before he is too severely denounced for this fault, the circumstances under which it was born and grew, ought to be remembered.

Born of such an ancestry as has already been described, and inheriting two such names, his early promise was hailed with delight and his progress watched with increasing expectation. He was precocious, and soon learned it from those foolish remarks of others which flattered a childish vanity and excited youthful ambition. He was never a true boy; he was made to feel, in days when sports had been far more appropriate, how much was expected of him in learning and piety. It does not take a child long to catch the spirit of such lessons of mistaken affection. Cotton Mather, the child, learned them; the boy, he found his superiority to other boys; the student, his ambition was fired and gratified by indiscriminate and foolish, though not unjust, praise. He entered college more learned than many a graduate, and on entering, was hailed by President Hoar with a prophecy of his future eminence in the topic assigned him for his "initial declamation,"—"Telemacho veniet, vivat modo, fortior ætas." In college, not only was his superiority undisputed, but his actual learning. At the annual commencement, in 1677, in the Latin oration, pronounced by President Oakes to the assembled throng, occurred a eulogy, which is thus rendered: "Mather is named Cotton Mather. What a name! My hearers, I mistake; I ought to have said what names! I shall not speak of his father, most careful guardian of the college, the first Fellow of the corporation; for I dare not praise him to his face. But should he resemble his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, splendor of intellect, solidity of judgment, prudence and wisdom, he will indeed bear the palm. And I have confidence that in

this young man, Cotton and Mather, will be united, and flourish again."<sup>1</sup>

What youth of sixteen, as ardent by nature, as ambitious, as susceptible, as Cotton Mather, could withstand such a training? Is it any wonder that he was vain? Could anything more have been done to foster and stimulate an unhealthy ambition? When, at the age of eighteen, he received an unanimous call to become Assistant to his father, in the care of the largest Church in Boston, his self-esteem could not have been diminished. And when, as years progressed, he found his name becoming famous, his eminent abilities acknowledged, his superiority in learning unquestioned,—hard was it to root out the plants which had been so industriously cultivated from infancy. He must have been more than man to have been free from such feelings. He was not free. This fault was often glaring. His biographers—of one class—have not forgotten to remind the world of it whenever occasioned opened. But they *have* forgotten to tell the world that Cotton Mather was himself conscious of this fault; they forget to tell of the tears its consciousness cost him; with his diary open, and well thumbed and marked where objectionable passages occur, they omit to mention the record of his penitence before God on this account, and how he prayed for deliverance, when Christian experience had brought it to his view. Hear him: "The apprehension of the cursed Pride . . . working in my heart, fill'd me with inexpressible Bitterness and Confusion before the Lord. In my early youth, even when others of my age are playing in the streets, I preached unto very great Assemblies, and found strange Respects among the People of God. I fear'd (and Thanks be to God that He ever struck me with such a Fear,) lest a Snare, and a Pit were by Satan prepared for such a Novice. I

<sup>1</sup> The original is in the Life of his son, p. 5. We take the translation, (inserting one omitted clause,) from Dr. Robbins' History, p. 90.

therefore resolved that I would set apart a day to humble myself before God for the Pride of my own Heart, and entreat that by His Grace I may be delivered from that Sin. . . . How little Grace have I! How unlike him that could say 'I am lowly!' Let me for this Cause abhor myself in Dust and Ashes! . . . Lord, what shall I do for the Cure of this Disease?" "I have put my Heart into the Hands of the faithful Jesus;" after long exercises, he writes, . . . "And now, Lord, I come to Him. He sees how I am laboring and heavy laden." Nor were the pages here covered, the only illustration of his sorrow over the sin implanted so early; his diary shows this struggle all through his life. The passage just repeated, one biographer does, however, partially quote: it is the author of the *Life in Sparks'* series, who, of course, declares it to be "valuable as a remarkable specimen of self delusion."

Another charge made against Cotton Mather is that of *disappointed ambition*. In one sense this may be true; doubtless he was disappointed in his expectations of a certain kind of influence. And this grew naturally out of the condition of Massachusetts at that time, taken in connection with his own hereditary and ministerial position. It was a transition period in which he lived, and he, in some degree, belonged to the past.

Cotton Mather's ancestry had wielded an enormous influence. The weight of character, the writings, and the public services of his own grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, had left an impress on the polity of Massachusetts, still active, and then predominant. They had prepared the order of Church government, and had influenced, at least one of them, the form into which the civil power fell. They had been, in company with the other clergymen, formally consulted by the colonial government, in all cases of delicacy, and their advice, in general, adopted. These things he knew. He was the son, also, of a man, an agent

in the courts of monarchs, and what was better, one whose daring words, calmly as they fell from his quiet lips, had stirred the soul of the people to resist, with unanimous voice, the demand of the profligate Charles for the surrender of their chartered liberties, and whose nomination subsequently selected a Royal Governor. Why should not he, conscious of superiority to either in science and mental ability, and of as great energy and practical power,—why should not he sway the people at his will, and make and unmake Governors. Such thoughts may have been in his mind. He looked for power, not in form, but in substance; but, save in transient gleams, it never came.

The time had been when the minister had more real power than the chief magistrate. He had made and unmade Governors. He had enacted and repealed laws. But this power was fading from sight. With the changing elements which took from Massachusetts the character of a theocracy, came a change in the position of the clergy. Not but that the office should still bring respect and influence. In throwing off the shackles of priestly power, the man could not throw off entirely the awe with which the boy had regarded the minister of God. Nor did the better class desire to do so. Love should still repay their labors; that love which clusters about the recollection of the kindly nurture of childhood, the hallowing of the ties of mature life, the soothing of the declining steps of aged parents, the gushings of the warm heart concealed under a cold exterior, which commended the departing to the love of Jesus,—such love as is all the power the minister needs, and which is dearer than all outer forms of authority to the servant of Him whose "kingdom is not of this world." This change still hesitated; but it was fast approaching its consummation. The early race of colonists had passed away. It was not a reaction, as is sometimes thought, either in doctrine or practice, from a too stringent rule; but the

inevitable result from the incoming of a population of different character, and of looser views, who outnumbered the remnant of old Puritans, and of necessity, though silently, changed the character of the Province. One by one the old landmarks had been swept off before the surging of new hosts. The half way covenant had early marked the first prominent change. The charter of William and Mary had destroyed the exclusive right of Church members to the ballot-box. The old Congregational regime was trembling before the popular will. The civil authority was replacing the ecclesiastical. It was the time of a transition state, out of which momentous events were soon to come, and in which the elements were restless and turbulent.

There had been, perhaps, as great a change in the ministry itself. Once the Puritan minister was the leader of his people in the convictions of a distracted age. To succeed, proved unshrinking boldness with calm discretion, an iron will with a warm heart, and a theatre in which these qualities had an opportunity to command success. The non-conformist divine was the first to feel the weight of oppression; was the leader of his people in their exile to the New England wilderness; joined in the same labors; exposed himself to the same perils; knew how to use the musket in days of terror, and how, when the strife was over, to soothe the dying and mourn for the dead. But as years passed away, these men were buried. The wilderness became fruitful fields; the forest-glades resounded with the blow of the axe; the musket hung untouched upon the wall; and the virtues needed in the minister were those of the mild and saintly kind, rather than the qualities of a leader of armed men. There were Indian wars; but the western frontier rolled back the tide; the towns of the Piscataqua experienced the temporary mourning; the sound of strife died away under the pines of Norridge-wick; as a whole, the battle had been

fought and the victory won, although the borders were still debatable grounds; and it was unknowingly that New England was then girding itself for a desperate conflict with the mother land itself. The influence, therefore, of the early Puritan ministry, none could wield; for none were trained in the tumults of the reign of Charles the First. If they had had the old virtues, they had no opportunity to test them; the man is necessary to the hour, but so is the hour to the man.

In such a time did Cotton Mather live. He did not perceive the change. He could not see the signs of the times. He felt that the influence of his predecessors in the ministry was not his. Though at the head of the clergy of New England in learning and eloquence, the expected deference never came. Doubtless his own evident expectation, and his want of some qualities of steadiness, and his ignorance of craft, had an effect to prevent the realization of his hopes. Had he been wiser, more silent, more hypocritical, he would never have been portrayed as he often is; but, as transparent as the day, without the slightest power of concealment, faults and disappointments in him are blamed, while worse men are praised, simply because hypocritical or shrewd enough to keep their own counsel. His very thoughts are recorded; who is willing to stand the same test?

But the change going on had still another feature, without which we should never have heard of his faults. It was theological. Cotton Mather *did* see this change. The old doctrines were in danger. The strife had already begun for the ascendancy of the two schemes of faith. When we speak of the origin of Unitarianism as in the commencement of the present century, we date it a century too late. The battle which is now ended in victory,—and since whose ending we only wait for the fast progressing crumbling of the defeated forces, curious only to see whether the spirit is safer diffused than concentrated,—had begun even before

Cotton Mather's day. In his time, it came into activity. He saw the coming defection of the churches. He placed himself,—or rather took the place to which he was called,—at the head of the old Calvinistic forces. He hesitated not to warn the land of the spirit which was working, and which—whether he was right or wrong—he thought would destroy vital religion. It was no selfishness, it was a love for Christ, whether mistaken or not is not now the question, that led him to risk reputation—with all the salient points in himself he knew were open to attack—in the cause of his Redeemer. "Sirs," said he in a discourse, in 1700, to the ministers and others, "Sirs, we shall not stop here, believe me! The third plot is to betray the *faith of the churches*, the truths of the Gospel, the doctrines of grace. These, these, will shortly be assaulted. We shall shortly be called upon to part with those things which are the very life of our soul." He renewedly declared, in a labored argument, "The Faith of the Fathers," in which the old doctrines are unflinchingly exhibited. He published a "Seasonable Testimony to the Doctrines of Grace." "American Sentiments on the Arian controversy," came from his pen. And in sermons and other writings needless to be enumerated, he protested against the modifications, which, then called only more consistent Calvinism, were bringing in the faith which swept away the old churches from their Puritan foundation.

Nor did he stop with mere protest. Changes in ecclesiastical order were then progressing, which he endeavored to meet by changes in the opposite direction,—towards a stricter form of Church government. As he was the founder of our present system of ministerial Associations,<sup>1</sup> so he devised the "Proposals" for a closer union among the churches, in 1705, which John Wise effectually demolished in Mas-

sachusetts, but which, adopted in Connecticut, are actually existing in the Association of Churches, which owes its entire being and form directly to Cotton Mather. This plan he devised, not for the sake of stricter government in itself, but for theological security; and to this he brought even his father,—the secret of that change in the views of Increase Mather, in which, led by the influence of his brilliant son, he decidedly, in his old age, modified his earlier published views. Cotton Mather saw, by his very side, a Church organized "which refused to inquire into the regeneration of communicants, [and] denied the necessity of explicit covenanting with God and the Church."<sup>2</sup> The irregularity of the method in which this Church was organized, was afterwards overlooked; but President Quincy well observes that "it was impossible true reconciliation should take place," and that "when occasions arose to excite, or to stir, the glimmering of concealed fires might be seen under the external covering." The question of Church order was only the vehicle of the question of doctrine. There could be no union. And the only wonder is, that Cotton Mather and the Calvinists, instead of contenting themselves with a plan of Con-sociation, (abandoning even that for the sake of union,) had not entirely gone over to that Presbyterianism with whose adherents he had always felt united. He does not show, however, in his "Ratio," subsequently published, any real dislike to pure Congregationalism. Doctrine was to him everything; form, nothing.

The chief point where the strife centered, was more important. It concerned the control of Harvard College. The contest which has resulted in making the entire corporation to consist of members of one sect, (so as to avoid sectarianism,) was in progress more than a hundred and fifty years ago; and although President Mather was nominally the champion of the old views which had dedicated the

<sup>1</sup> In the organization of the old Boston Association, at Cambridge, in 1690. A full account of the origin and progress of such Associations will be published in a future number.

<sup>2</sup> Quincy's Hist. Harvard University, 1: 200.

College to "Christ and the Church," his son was evidently the moving spirit of the Calvinists on the part of the clergy, as Chief Justice Stoughton was on the part of the laity. It is needless here to recount these contentions; President Quincy's able history describes them minutely. "It became," he says, "the policy of the clergy of that [the Calvinist] sect, in the successive schemes for a charter for the College, during Dr. Mather's presidency, so to arrange its powers or its principles, as to secure the institution from those great changes in religious opinions which they had reason to anticipate, and which they called 'heresies.'"<sup>1</sup> It was equally the policy of the opposing party to secure its control in their own hands. Its officers, and its practices, alike came into the controversy. President Mather was finally displaced, by a vote of the Legislature requiring him to do what it was known he would not do,—reside at Cambridge, and a successor appointed the same day, who *never* resided at that place, but was continued in office by "evasion." The complaints that "the doctrines of grace" had ceased to be taught, were, finally, acknowledged in part, and justified. The control of the College passed into "liberal" hands. Inquiries into the religious state of the College were, at one time, ordered by the Overseers, and the report "breathes a spirit of subdued discontent with the College," but without result. And the end was that the institution passed away from the control of the strict Calvinists.

In this controversy Cotton Mather had his share. His suggestions of "points needful to be inquired into" are still preserved. In these, after intimations against the state of learning there, the main points appear in statements that books having "the spirit of the gospel" are not recommended, but those "erroneous, and dangerous;" that the tutors, having no regard "to the doctrines of grace," set themselves to instil opposite principles, and grievously

neglect the souls of their pupils; children who left home "with some gospel symptoms of piety, quickly lose all;" and "young ministers, who are the gifts of Christ in the service of our churches, declare, that, before they came to be what they are, they found it necessary to lay aside the sentiments which they brought from college with them." On such accounts, the friends of the old order were prominent in founding Yale College. Sewall, afterwards Chief Justice, and Coddington, then Secretary of State, drew up, on application, the charter for the new institution, which was adopted with slight change, and in their accompanying letter, tell "how glad we were to hear of the flourishing schools and colleges of Connecticut, as it would be some relief to us against the sorrow we have conceived from the decay of them in this Province,"—a decay in religion, which to them, was *real* decay. And Yale was thenceforth looked to, Cotton Mather says, as "a Seminary from whence a good people expect the supply of all their synagogues."

The object of the whole contest is evident. It was a question of theological character. Subordinate to this, was a question whether Cotton Mather should be its President. There is no doubt that he expected that position, nor that it was the ardent wish of, at least, the old Calvinists, nor that his varied learning led the community to expect it, nor that he was disappointed at the result. Perhaps the fact that in some desirable qualities he was deficient, may have had an effect; but it is no unprecedented matter that able and distinguished men should not be entirely adapted to the care of a college. The principal reason of his being passed by, undoubtedly existed in his theological position. The party which had removed one President Mather, would not, of course, make a second President Mather out of one equally stern in his theology, and more active and enthusiastic in its support. The regrets of the Calvinists were not the regrets of disappointed fol-

<sup>1</sup> History, i., 196.



lowers at the general discomfiture of their leaders, but sorrow over the failure of their attempt to prevent that declension which was evidently approaching. The disappointment of Cotton Mather himself is, from his very diary, to be attributed to his sadness upon seeing that the churches would henceforth receive their ministers from a school which he regarded, right-fully or wrongfully, as departing from the faith, rather than to be laid to the charge of selfish considerations. Right or wrong, time has vindicated his memory. His fears were realized. An accidental majority moved the college on a path only slightly deviating, but that path gave its control to a sect, energetic though small, honorable for learning as well as for many graces, but whose theological position no Calvinist can approve. When President Mather was removed, it was, says Quincy, to "put an end to a presidency from which they could reasonably anticipate nothing but violent personal quarrels and religious controversies,"<sup>1</sup>—which, being interpreted, means, that an active party was determined to uproot the views which had created Harvard College, and that, when he was removed, "order reigned in Warsaw." As years passed by, the work of extinguishing the old faith went on. In 1806, Eliphalet Pearson, Professor and once acting President, declared that "there remained no reasonable hope to promote that reformation in the society which he wished;" and that, "events during the past year having so deeply affected his mind, beclouded the prospect, spread such a gloom over the University, and compelled him to take such a view of its internal state and external relations, of its radical and constitutional maladies, as to exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing his relation to it,"—he resigned his position. Andover Theological Seminary came into life, in part to supply the place of the lost theological training, and, in its past lustre, its present

energy, and its future prophecy, satisfies its friends that "the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former,"—of this latter, "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."<sup>2</sup>

In reference to the opposition which Cotton Mather experienced, several additional facts ought to be noticed. One is, that the abuse too often heaped upon him now, was not the estimation of his character then. It has remained for men of a far later period, when the heat of the actual contest has subsided, in all coolness to attempt to deprive him of the honor paid him even by opponents in his own time. To ascribe unworthy motives to present writers, would be to fall into the same error we are condemning; and it would be unjust. But it is fair to believe that the light in which Cotton Mather is viewed has had its denominational aspect. The light through the stained glass of our churches no more depicts a true man, in the blue forehead, the purple eyes, the green nose, the yellow chin, where the various colors fall, than the light of strong partisanship can show the true character of Cotton Mather in the distorted and painted shape which they inevitably exhibit when they try to describe an ardent and unflinching Calvinist leader.

Another fact is, that in the slight departure of that day was not seen the great defection which grew therefrom. He was considered, by many, a calumniator, when his watchful eye discerned the future. "The ministers who are faithful to the Lord Jesus," he says, "are driven to a necessity of appearing in defence of the churches; no little part of which falls unavoidably to my share;" and in this he was derided as a prophet of evil existing only in his own imagination.

And a third fact is, that the abuse he

<sup>2</sup> Any one desiring particular proof that the struggle of that time was between the old Calvinists and those to whom the Unitarians are "successors," and that it was on religious grounds, is referred to the very full and conclusive argument of President Quincy.

<sup>1</sup> 1: 144.



met with, was not from his main opponents. Colman and his associates were honorable men, ready to do justice even to the sternest Calvinists; they were not bitter in his life, and they vindicated the character of the dead. But the time had gone by when a man could be in New England six months, and not hear an oath. Looser morals had entered. "All the men that have any virtue or religion in them, I find," said an English lawyer to Cotton Mather, after six months sojourn, "love you and value you, and honor you; but all the base people, who are scandalous for vice and wickedness, hate you and can't give you a good word."

In the various heated discussions of that time, Cotton Mather too often displayed an irritability of temper. In those days, controversies were not carried on in the mildest forms, nor with particularly refined vocabularies. He was often out of patience, as he was easily provoked. But of such sharpness his diary shows a consciousness, and a repentance. Again and again, he humbled himself before God after hard speeches, and prayed for strength against the propensity. That his opponents were equally at fault is evident; but as his command of language surpassed theirs, their refuge is in injured innocence. But while severe, his heart was kind. He was never a persecutor. As to the Quakers, whom he particularly disliked, he protested against the slightest legal prosecution. His Christian charity to other churches cannot be doubted. "In this capital city of Boston," he says, "there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of friendship for one another in so neighbourly a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity; and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society; and may demonstrate to the world, that persecution for conscientious dissent in religion is an abomination of desolation; a thing

whereof all wise and just men will say, 'Cursed be its anger.'" In some features, he was peculiarly liberal: As to "Communion" and "Admission to all the Privileges and advantages of the Evangelical Church State, I would have you insist upon it, That no Terms be imposed, but such Necessary things as Heaven will require of all, who shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord and Stand in his holy Place. Be sure to stand by that Golden Rule, Receive you one another, as CHRIST also received us unto the Glory of GOD. That is to say, Those of whom it is our Duty to Judge, that our SAVIOUR will Receive them to this Glory in the Heavenly World, we ought now to Receive into all the Enjoyments of our Christian Fellowship. And Let the Table of the Lord have no rails about it, that shall hinder a godly Independent, and Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, and Antipedobaptist, and Lutheran, from sitting down together there."

These facts are generally unknown. They are swallowed up in those prominent matters with which, in most minds, is linked all that is known of Cotton Mather, —the witchcraft delusion.

Cotton Mather was evidently prominent in all the unfortunate transactions of that affair. He is often charged with hypocrisy in them; with originating them, for his own selfish purposes; with swaying the popular mind in that direction, or, with yielding to popular prejudice that he might secure authority. To rebut these accusations at length, is hardly worth the labor. But some facts ought to be remembered.

From childhood, Cotton Mather had believed in the ministry of angels; it was a favorite thought that good angels were constantly serving God by caring for His children, and that evil spirits were ministering to evil passions. So believing, when it seemed that evil spirits were assuming peculiar shape, and were especially active out of hatred to New England's institutions, he was ready, by this

very superstition, if it must be called such, to enter with deep interest into such matters. When, therefore, the accounts of the Suffolk trials came across the ocean, and as Hutchinson suggests, inflamed the popular mind, Cotton Mather, with his enthusiastic nature, was deeply interested in the new phenomena. "The suggestion, however, that Cotton Mather, for purposes of his own, deliberately got up this delusion," says Hildreth,<sup>1</sup> "and forced it upon a doubtful and hesitating people, is utterly absurd;" nor is he "to be classed," he says, "with those tricky and dishonest men so common in our times, who play upon popular prejudices which they do not share, in the expectation of being elevated to honors and office."<sup>2</sup> It was a general delusion. Nor was it a delusion at all in so far as mysterious phenomena were concerned. An impartial reader will find facts baffling his understanding. "It is not enough to assert," says Barry,<sup>3</sup> "that all these were delusions; for if the evidence of the senses is utterly unreliable, the whole fabric of society is at once overthrown. The most cautious scepticism did not deny what were confirmed not only by credible witnesses, but by the irresistible convictions of personal inspection." These resembled, perhaps, the effects seen under the name of animal magnetism; or, perhaps, those yet stranger results seen in our own time, the belief in which effectually demolishes the claim of this, to any greater enlightenment than that of the seventeenth century. Nor was the belief merely American: "He must be a very obdurate Sadducee," said Baxter, "who would not believe in it." This belief had the sanction of Addison. "To deny the actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery," says the famous jurist Blackstone, whose name is almost a synonym for law, "is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God, and the testimony of every nation in the world." "The Courts," says Hutch-

inson<sup>4</sup> of these trials, "justify themselves from books of law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton, and other lawyers, then of the first character;" "The great authority," he adds, "was Sir Matthew Hale." "For my own part," says Cotton Mather, "I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft, but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French, or Dutch, (and I know many,) are of the same opinion." In his credulity, he was in excellent company.

With such views the trials proceeded. That Cotton Mather was guilty most of all, is utterly absurd. That he, and others, were deceived, is true. "They imagined the prince of hell, with his legions, to be among them, the Lord's host, seeking among them whom he might devour; and they would give place to him for subjection, no, not for an hour." "They were true Massachusetts men and ministers; and whatever opinions upon facts or duties Massachusetts has held, her habit has been, whether for good or ill, to follow them with vigorous action." Yet, "more witches have been put to death in a single county in England, in a short space of time, than have ever suffered in New England, altogether, from first to last."

In the midst of the trials, the government, once more, asked advice of ministers of Boston. Cotton Mather drew up the reply. In it, it is true, they recommended "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God, and the wholesome statutes of the English nation,"—to which no law-abiding citizen could object,—but they also recommend "a very critical and exquisite caution," "exceeding tenderness to the accused," and that "no spectral evidence be admitted." Had this advice been followed, it is difficult to see how a single conviction could

<sup>1</sup> ii: 151.<sup>2</sup> ii: 152.<sup>3</sup> *History of Massachusetts*, ii: 38.<sup>4</sup> *History of Massachusetts*, ii: chap. 1.<sup>5</sup> Hutchinson, *ante*.

have taken place. Cotton Mather himself made a proposal "far more characteristic of him than ambition or cruelty."<sup>1</sup> He offered to provide for six of the accused, (others doing the same,) "and see whether, without more bitter methods, prayer and fasting could not put an end to these heavy trials,"—an offer which was refused. That he was credulous—as were others; that he was too fond of the marvellous; that his pen and tongue were active, as they always were,—is true. But beyond this, nothing worse appears. "That he was under the influence of any bad motives, any sanguinary feelings; that he did not verily think he was doing God service, and the devil injury; that he would not gladly have prevented the disorderly proceedings of the courts, the application of unlawful tests, and everything unmerciful in the trials, and inhuman in their issue,—the most careful examination has failed to make me believe."<sup>2</sup>

Nor did Cotton Mather ever change his belief in the supernatural character of these events. Judge Sewall publicly acknowledged his error in the proceedings, but Stoughton and Mather, never. Stoughton, with Puritan and honorable steadfastness, declared, that, as for him, when he sat in judgment, he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding. The author in Sparks' series, says, of course, that Mather "from being regarded as a man of great and venerable character, was generally shunned and treated with aversion;" while Hildreth, with truth says,<sup>3</sup> that "Stoughton and Cotton Mather, though they never expressed the least regret or contrition for their part in the affair, still maintained their places in the public estimation." Stoughton was immediately chosen Assistant, although then Lieutenant-Governor, "so agreeable was he to the people,"<sup>4</sup> and was continued in that office till his death.

That Cotton Mather was not a man to yield to popular prejudices is seen in his conduct regarding inoculation. In 1721, the small-pox entered Boston. Cotton Mather had, in the course of his reading, met in the Transactions of the Royal Society, an account of inoculation as practised in the East. He was convinced of its utility, and immediately laid the matter before the physicians of the town. Not one of the faculty would listen, except Zabdiel Boylston, who immediately put the plan into execution. A great clamor was excited. A war of pamphlets followed. Mather and Boylston, backed by the whole Boston clergy, were on the one side; all the other physicians, together with the mass of the people, on the other. So excited became the population that, in the rage against the clergy, religious institutions seemed to tremble. The town authorities resolved against it. The House of Representatives passed an act making inoculation a crime. In the midst of all this tempest, Cotton Mather was unflinching. Even when, in the wrath of the infuriated people, a hand grenade was thrown into his chamber at night, with threats attached, of still further outrage, he never faltered. And, at length, as facts showed the wisdom of the plan, he received the gratitude due to the man who introduced this practice into America.

From all the trials of public regard which Cotton Mather thus encountered, he emerged unhurt. The attacks of Calef in regard to witchcraft undoubtedly had some effect, but they never destroyed public confidence. People love far better an enthusiastic and open man, notwithstanding all the blunders incident to such a character, than they do the cold and calculating model of faultlessness. Unflinching force will command respect. So it was with Cotton Mather. His heart was right, and people loved him for it. His will was strong, and they admired him for it. When, a few days prior to the revolution which deprived Andros of authority, the popular feeling began, in a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Robbins' Hist. p. 107.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> II: 166.

<sup>4</sup> Hutchinson, ante.

town meeting for the choice of Representatives, to exhibit itself in wild uproar, Cotton Mather appeared, and so spoke as to calm the populace to quiet. A few days after, when the revolution actually occurred, Cotton Mather again appeared, and stemmed the tide of passion in which the exasperated people were carried away. He was a patriot: "I stand," he says, "for the just liberties of mankind, with a free indulgence of civil rights in the State." Nor did he hesitate, with his father, years after, to charge a Royal governor with corruption and bribery; with falsehood and treachery; and history has confirmed the verdict.

Those who knew him best were his admirers. Such were the ministers of the churches. Some testimony to their general estimate is already given; but their deference in his old age is equally clear. "He was a pastor in the town," says Colman, "when the eldest of the present pastors were but children, and long before most of them were born." They knew him. The words of Prince are full of touching pathos, as they describe the reverence felt by younger ministers for the venerable servant of God; "a father to the ministers," says he, "and to him they repaired in difficult cases for light and direction. We sat at his feet as children; his speech dropped upon us, and we waited for him as for the rain, as the thirsty earth for the rain of heaven."<sup>1</sup>

In some of the later years of his life, Cotton Mather exhibits depression of mind. There was cause enough for it in his domestic trials. He was involved in pecuniary difficulties,—never avaricious,—but from them his people, as already said, handsomely relieved him; "I have not a foot of land upon the Earth. Except a Library and a little household stuff, I have nothing upon earth. 'Tis inexpressible how much this condition pleases and gladdens me;" "strangely

provided for," as he was, he praised God; "In all my afflictions, He will be afflicted."

A severe trial was the death of his wife.<sup>2</sup> We cannot forbear copying, from his diary, his own simple and beautiful description:

"I have never yet seen such a black day, in all the time of my pilgrimage. The Desire of my eyes is this day to be taken from me. Her death is lingering and painful. All the forenoon of this day she was in the pangs of death; sensible, until the last minute or two before her final expiration.

"I cannot remember the discourse that passed between us. Only, her devout soul was full of satisfaction about her going to a state of blessedness with the Lord Jesus Christ; and as far as my distress would permit me, I studied how to confirm her satisfaction and consolation.

"When I saw to what a point of resigna-

<sup>2</sup> Cotton Mather was married three times. In his twenty-fourth year he "tho't it advisable . . . to marry." So, "he first looked up to Heaven for direction;" on which Peabody well remarks that he commenced where most men end; as a result, he married Abigail, daughter of Col. John Phillips, of Charlestown, born June 19, 1670, d. Nov. 28, 1702. He married, 2d, Aug. 18, 1703, widow Elizabeth Hubbard, dau. of Dr. John Clark, who died Nov. 8, 1713. He married, 3d, July 5, 1715, Lydia, widow of John George, and daughter of Samuel Lee; she died Jan. 22, 1734. Cotton Mather's children numbered, as Samuel tells us, fifteen; the learned antiquary, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., says that he is "able, from all other sources, to make out the names of but thirteen," and his failure may be deemed conclusive. As far as known, the children were Katharine, born —, died, of consumption, Dec. 1716, "who understood Latin and read Hebrew fluently;" Abigail, b. Aug. 22, 1687, d. before 1693; Joseph, b. March 28, 1693, d. April 1, 1693; Abigail, b. June 14, 1694, married Dan. Willard, had four children, and d. Sept. 26, 1721; Hannah, b. 1696-7, was living, unmarried, in 1728; Increase, b. July 9, 1699, lost at sea, on a voyage from Bermuda to Newfoundland, before 1728; Samuel, b. 1700, d. before 1706; these were by the first wife. By the second wife, Elizabeth, b. July 13, 1704, mar. July 30, 1724, Edward Cooper, d. Aug. 7, 1726; Samuel, b. Oct. 30, 1706, H. C. 1723, D.D., minister of the Second Church, mar. Hannah, sister of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, d. June 27, 1785; Nathaniel, b. May 16, 1707, d. Nov. 24, 1709; Jerusha, b. April 1711, d. Nov. 1713; Eleazer and Martha, twins, b. and d. in 1713. A pedigree of the Mather Family is in the New England Hist.-Gen. Register, vi., anno 1852.

<sup>1</sup> The only quotation from Prince's sermon which we find in the *Life in Sparks' series*, is "The infirmities of the fathers should be reverently covered." Comment is needless.

tion I was now called of the Lord, I resolved, with His help therein to glorify Him. So, two hours before my lovely consort expired, I kneeled by her bedside, and I took into my two hands, a dear hand, the dearest in the world. With her thus in my hands, I solemnly and sincerely gave her up unto the Lord; and in token of my real resignation, I gently put her out of my hands and laid away a most lovely hand, resolving that I would never touch it any more. This was the hardest, and perhaps the bravest, action, that ever I did. She afterwards told me that 'she signed and sealed my act of resignation.' And though before that she called for me continually, she, after this, never asked for me any more. She continued until near two o'clock in the afternoon. And the last sensible word that she spoke, was to her weeping father,—"Heaven, Heaven, will make amends for all!"

A subsequent marriage was less happy. To enter into detail, from his diary, on this matter, is like sacrilege. It is enough to quote a few lines: "This last year (1718) has been full of her prodigious paroxysms which have made it a year of such distress with me, as I have never seen in my life." Again, "Oh, my poor, distressed, oppressed family. Shall I not take the several abused children and call them with me into my study and there . . . pray with them and with fervent and weeping prayers carry them up to the Lord." Again, he speaks of his child driven from home; "My poor Nancy! My dear Nancy!" Sometimes, "O thou glorious Forgiver of Iniquity, Transgression, and Sin; O thou gracious Hearer of prayer, from the Depths I cry unto Thee." Or, more eloquent still, "My God, My God!"

A severer trial came, the anguish of a father's heart at the conduct of a guilty son. Children had been removed by death, and he had not murmured; but this tasked his confidence in God. It was his dearly loved son Increase, brilliant but profligate, of early promise sufficient

to sanction the highest hopes, but ruined by evil companions. "My miserable son," writes the father, in 1721; "I must cast and chase him out of my sight, forbid him to see me, until there appears some marks of repentance upon him." Again, "Now, now, I have a dreadful opportunity to try how far I may find a glorious Christ, a comforter that shall relieve my soul. What shall I find in store to comfort me under the horrible distresses which the conduct of my wicked son Increase has brought upon me?" Later still, "I must write a tremendous letter to my son; and, after I have set his conduct in order before his eyes, I will tell him that I will never own him, or do for him, or look on him, till the characters of repentance are very conspicuous on him. God prosper it! Though I am but a dog, yet cast out the devil that has possession of that child!" He writes more and more despondingly, until when the gifted and wayward young man had found an early and a cheerless grave in mid ocean, the sole record is, "My son Increase, my son, my son!"

His last illness came. It commenced in the latter part of December, 1727. From its beginning, he felt that it would be fatal. "My last enemy is come; I would say, 'my best friend,'" wrote he to his physician. In the course of the six weeks remaining to him on earth, he arranged all his worldly matters,—and he had little to arrange, save to dispose of his papers. He had no need to prepare for heaven; that work had been done a half century before; in these weeks was witnessed his ripening for the heavenly glory. As, often, friends, and kinsfolks, came to see him, he was full of desire for their spiritual welfare. "Many were the Blessings he pronounced and the Charges he gave those who were near him." When his sister's son craved the old Christian's blessing,—"my dear child, and my son, my son, I bless you; I bless you; I wish you all manner of blessings! I know not what better to wish you than this, that

you be strong in the Grace with which our Lord Jesus Christ will furnish you. I know not what better to wish you than this, that you may be an Instrument of displaying to others the Beauties and Glories of our Lord Jesus Christ. I know not what better to wish you than this, that you may be very faithful in projections and essays to Good, that it may be your ambition to bring forth much of that fruit by which our Heavenly Father may be glorified."<sup>1</sup> In the blessing to his own son, "I trust and pray the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, may be yours, and His Blessing rest upon you. I wish that, as you have a prospect of being serviceable in the world, you may be great and considerable as the Patriarchs were, by introducing a CHRIST into the world. The Grace of the LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you."<sup>1</sup>

To his children, he had always been an unusually tender and affectionate father. In his last days, he committed them to God; "Wherefore, O my Saviour, I commit my Children into Thy Fatherly Hands. I pray to Thee that Thy gracious Providence may, and I trust in Thee that it will, be concerned for them. Oh, let nothing be wanting to them that shall be good for them. Cause them to Fear, to Love Thee, to walk in Thy ways; and make use of them to do Good in their Generation. Be Thou their Friend and raise them up such as may be necessary, and in a convenient Manner supply all their Necessities. Give thy Angels a charge of them; and when their Father and Mother forsake them, then do Thou take them up."

As for himself, he had no fears. At times he was troubled lest the pains of death might prevent his glorifying Christ; but as to his future state, he was abundantly satisfied. His trust was in Christ. "Lord," he was heard to say, "Thou art with me, and dost enable me to sing in the dark Valley of the Shadow of Death. I perceive the Signs of Death upon me, and

am I not affrighted? No, not at all! I will not so dishonor my SAVIOUR as to be frightened at anything that can befall me, while I am in His blessed Hands." In such a happy state of mind and heart, the weeks passed away, while he was growing weaker and weaker, and while the prayers of multitudes were ascending to God in the general sorrow which contemplated his approaching departure. One of his Church asked him if he was desirous to die; "I dare not say that I am," was his reply, "nor yet that I am not; I would be entirely resigned unto God." The physicians told him that he could not recover; it was no new idea to him; he only lifted up his hands and said, "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven." The characteristic of his life showed itself in his last days,—in still doing good. When, ten days before his death, his son asked him 'what he should think of as his last exhortation,'—"Remember only that one word 'FRUITFUL,'" was the reply. That day, itself, was a happy time. It was the Sabbath, and he was rapidly approaching heaven—so rapidly that decease was hourly apprehended,—even then dying.<sup>2</sup> He, himself, was expecting death; "I was hoping," said he to Dr. Colman that evening, "to have been with Christ this sacrament day."

He lingered two days longer. The day before he died, some passages were read to him at his own request, from one of his

<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Life in Sparks' series* (who ought not to be confounded with the eminent President Sparks himself,) says "His son, in accordance with the principle on which his 'Life' is written, to withhold all such information as might interest the reader, does not say what the disorder was." The *Life* says, page 159, that it was a "hard cough, and a suffocating asthma, with a fever." When it is considered that the "information" which Samuel Mather mainly gives, relates to his father's religious character and exercises, why it does not "interest the reader" may be apparent.

The difference of estimate we put upon this work and that of President Quincy, is this: the latter is sturdy and outspoken, and hates Cotton Mather with a relish that we respect; the former is pretentiously unbiassed, but loses no opportunity to give him a sly stab wherever it can be done,—which we despise.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, &c., p. 155.



own books,<sup>1</sup> which he said would be his very words then, had he strength to repeat them; among them were the following:

"Upon the renouncing of all Dependence on our own Righteousness, and relying on the Righteousness of the perfect Obedience, which the Son of God, stooping to become surety, paid unto His own Law in our Stead, He will uphold us with the Right Hand of His Righteousness. Giving us to see ourselves furnished and covered with a Righteousness of more account than the best Angel in Heaven, may pretend unto, He will enable us to say, 'The Gates of Righteousness I see set open for me! And having a Soul set upon the Praising of God, greatly affected with the Praises of His Christ, and strongly desirous to celebrate and propagate, we shall be able to go on and say, 'I will go in at those golden Gates; I have something to do within. I will go in and praise the Lord. It is what I have begun to do; and His Praise endureth forever. Never, never, shall I give over the Doing of it.'" Again, "There is a Well of Water in me that will spring up to everlasting Life. Death do thy worst. There is no killing of that Life which my God has begun to raise me to. Have I had a glorious Christ living, acting, and working in me, and quickening me for Living unto God; and will He ever lose His hold of me? No, no; I am sure of Living with Him forevermore." The Presence of Christ, he says, "will enable us to sing in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; . . . it will so mollify the fierce

Visage of Death, as that if our Thoughts of the dying Hour be enquired after, we shall break forth into Triumphs upon it; O joyful Hour! O welcome Hour! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Why is thy chariot so long a coming?"

"And now vain world," he said, "farewell! Thou hast been to me a very uneasy wilderness. Welcome, everlasting life! The paradise of God stands open for me. I am just entering into a world where I shall be free from Sin and from all Temptations to it; a world where I shall have all tears wiped from my eyes; a world where I shall be filled with all the fulness of God. The best hour that ever I saw, is what I am hourly and gladly waiting for!"

The day after he had ended his sixty-fifth year, was the day of his death. All saw that death was close at hand. "Is this dying?" said he, with triumph in his air. "This all? Is this what I feared when I prayed against a hard death? Is it no more than this! O, I can bear this. I can bear it. I can bear it!"<sup>2</sup>

But a little while before he died, "I have nothing more to do here. My will is entirely swallowed up in the will of God."

His work was done. His last word trembled on his lips; it was, "Grace!" And as his soul passed away to the presence of his beloved Redeemer, out from the clouds which had gathered around his later life, there was fulfilled in his own departure, the beautiful Scripture he had often loved to repeat, "And it shall come to pass that at evening time it shall be light."

<sup>1</sup> Restitutus.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Joshua Gee.

## CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN WINDHAM COUNTY, CT.

WINDHAM COUNTY, CONN., is in the North-eastern part of the State, and was formerly included for the most part in New London County. When organized

in 1726, it embraced a portion of what is now Tolland County, and the town of Lebanon, now in New London County. It did not, however, include the town of



Woodstock, which was then under Massachusetts jurisdiction.

The county seat was first established at Windham, but was afterwards removed to Brooklyn, in 1819.

The town of ASHFORD was incorporated in October, 1710. It has chiefly an agricultural population. It contains two Congregational churches, in two local parishes: the First, or Center, and the Second, or Westford.

THE CHURCH IN THE FIRST SOCIETY was gathered Nov. 26, 1718, and has had the following succession of pastors:

JAMES HALE,.....	Ord. Nov. 26, 1718
	* Nov. 22, 1742
JOHN BASS,.....	Ord. Sept. 7, 1743
	Dis. June 5, 1751
TIMOTHY ALLEN,.....	Inst. Oct. 12, 1757
	Dis. Jan. 13, 1764
JAMES MESSINGER,.....	Ord. Feb. 15, 1769
	* Jan. 6, 1782
ENOCH POND,.....	Ord. Sept. 16, 1789
	* Aug. 6, 1807
PHILO JUDSON,.....	Ord. Sept. 26, 1811
	Dis. Mar. 27, 1833
JOB HALL,.....	Ord. Jan. 15, 1834
	Dis. July 17, 1837
CHARLES HYDE,.....	Inst. Feb. 21, 1838
	Dis. June 26, 1845
CHARLES PEABODY,.....	Inst. Jan. 20, 1847
	Dis. Sept. 11, 1850
CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN,.....	Inst. June 8, 1854
	Dis. March, 1858

Rev. JAMES HALE was born in Beverly, Ms., Oct. 14, 1685, son of Rev. John and Sarah (Noyes) Hale; graduated at Harvard College, 1703, where he was also made A. M., and was Tutor at Yale College from 1707 to 1709. He came to Ashford in 1716, on an offer of 35 or 45 pounds for a year's service, and was ordained Nov. 26, 1718, at the same time that the Church was organized, with 13 male members. This charge he retained till his death, receiving 258 persons into fellowship. He was, according to tradition, "a holy and godly man." Wisner's History of the Old South Church, Boston, mentions that they once voted "that fifteen pounds be given to Mr. James Hale of Ashford, for his encouragement in the work of the ministry." His epitaph reads thus:

"Here lies the remains of Rev. Mr. James Hale, the first Pastor of the Church in Ashford, and husband of Mad. Sarah Hale. He left earth for heaven (as we trust) in y<sup>r</sup> 58th year of his age, Nov. 22, 1742. Here lies a friend of Christ and of his people's, the Rev. J. H.

Let all, that lov'd the man these lines present,  
Follow his faith in Christ, and of all their sins repent."

Mr. Hale published the last sermon of his neighbor, Rev. Wm. Billings, with a preface by himself.

He married Sarah Hathaway, (?) and had sons John and James, the former born at Swanzev, before his father moved to Ashford, and the latter settled at Ashford.

Rev. JOHN BASS was born at Braintree, Ms., March 26, 1717, son of John and Hannah Bass. He graduated H. C. 1737, and was A. M. in course. He was called to the pastorate in Ashford, May 10, 1743, and was ordained on the 7th September following, on which occasion Rev. John Hancock of Braintree preached a sermon (afterwards published) "on the danger of an unqualified ministry,"—evidently aiming a shaft at Gilbert Tennent's discourse on an *unconverted* ministry. In his sermon Mr. Hancock speaks of his acquaintance with the pastor elect, as affording assurance of his sufficient qualifications.

It was not long, however, before there arose uneasiness in Ashford, and under date of June 5, 1751, Mr. Bass made this entry in the Church record: "I was dismissed from my pastoral relation to the Church and people of Ashford, by the Rev. Consociation of Windham County, for dissenting from the Calvinistic sense of the quinquarticular points, which I ignorantly subscribed before my ordination, for which and all other of my mistakes I beg pardon of Almighty God." Mr. Bass had embraced the opinions of John Taylor of Norwich, Eng. There was some difficulty about settling him, but (to quote his own words) "I declared myself a Calvinist when settled, and for several years after. My orthodoxy was established in

the view of Consociation by an examination of my sermons, though some of the Consociation (flaming New Lights,) would have rejoiced in my overthrow." After this, he says, he examined, "and came into a new set of notions." These he withheld from the people, "until interrogated in open church meeting." He adds, "What you say further of the Consociation's unanimity, is also far from being true. The major part voted against what you call Arminianism, but some did not, nor could they with a good conscience, and I believe few of them would act the same part again, and ruin a people, as they have done poor Ashford. But Orthodoxy atones for all faults, and Heresy extinguishes all virtues with some people."

In the spring of 1742, Mr. Bass removed to Providence, R.I. where he was employed to supply the pulpit of the First Congregational Church, which was then but a remnant in consequence of the recent separation of Mr. Snow's adherents. Rev. Dr. Hall, in an Historical Discourse, says, "The encouragement given to Mr. Bass was very small, the number of hearers being often not over twenty, and the Church so scattered and divided that it was scarcely known whether any of them were left. At length, in 1758, his health being poor, Mr. Bass relinquished preaching, and entered on the practice of physic, in which he continued till his death, which occurred Oct. 24, 1762." This event was thus noticed in the Providence Gazette of 30th October: "Last Lord's Day morning departed this life, in the 46th year of his age, the late Rev. John Bass, of this town. A gentleman who, in his public performances, was evangelical, learned, rational and accurate; and in private life was sociable, beneficent, compassionate, instructive, and exemplary. In his last sickness, which was of long continuance, he submitted to the dealings of Divine Providence with the patience and resignation of a Christian, united to the calmness and fortitude of a Hero. His funeral obsequies were attended on Tuesday last by a nu-

merous concourse of people." Mr. Bass's remains have been removed from their original resting place to the Swan Point Cemetery, where they lie with those of other ministers of the First (Unitarian) Congregational Church.

Mr. Bass published, (1751,) "A True Narrative of the late unhappy contention in the church at Ashford." There was a reply to this in 1752 by Rev. Samuel Niles of Braintree, Ms., which he (being then 78 years old) "delivered as his dying testimony." In 1753 Mr. Bass published "A Letter to Mr. Niles, with remarks on his dying testimony."

Mr. Bass married Nov. 24, 1742, Mary, daughter of Samuel Danielson of Killingly, and had children—John, Mary, John, Sarah, James, and Samuel, of whom the two latter settled in Providence.

REV. TIMOTHY ALLEN was born in Norwich, Sept. 1, 1715, son of Timothy and Rachel (Bushnell) Allyn, graduated at Y. C. 1736, and A. M.

He was first ordained pastor at West Haven in 1738, but for some little imprudences of speech was dismissed by the Consociation in 1742. This was in the time of the Great Awakening, and Mr. Allen seems to have become one of the leading "New Lights," as the more stirring preachers were called. He was for a while the teacher of a kind of theological school in New London, called "the Shepard's Tent." He probably officiated temporarily in many pulpits in different States.

At last he settled again in Ashford, being installed Oct. 12, 1757, and remained in this charge nearly seven years, being dismissed Jan. 13, 1764. After another considerable interval we find him again at Chesterfield, Ms., where he was installed, June 15, 1785, in the seventieth year of his age. The Church having expressed their desire that Mr. Allen should preach the sermon at his own installation, he did so. His stipulated support ceased May 1, 1794, though he was employed to preach a number of Sabbaths afterwards, and was not formally dismissed till 1796. He

died in Chesterfield, Jan. 12, 1806, in his 91st year.

Mr. Allen, when living in Chesterfield, was a venerable old man of large stature and somewhat fleshy. His manners were eccentric, and he was rather careless in his dress. He had the reputation of learning. Dr. Trumbull calls him a man of genius and talents, of strict morals, and a powerful and fervent preacher. The Con-sociation boasted at his dismission that they had put out one "new light," and would blow them all out. But his light continued to shine for many years afterwards.

Mr. Allen published these pamphlets: "Common Sense, in some free remarks on the efficiency of a moral change." "The Main Point, a discourse on The Just shall live by faith." "A Sermon at the Dedication of a Meeting house in Chesterfield." "An Answer to Pilate's Question, What is truth." "Salvation of all men, put out of all dispute." "An Essay on Outward Christian Baptism."

Mr. Allen married (1) Mary Bishop, who died about 1757, and (2) Mrs. Dorothy (Gallup) Reed, who died in 1804. His children, all by his first marriage, were a son, who died at 21 years of age, and five daughters, who all married and had considerable families, viz. Mary, Evangel-gely, Fanny, Harmony, and Theodamy.

Rev. JAMES MESSINGER was born Dec. 14, 1737,—probably the son of Rev. Henry and Esther (Cheevers) Messenger, of Wrentham, Ms. He graduated H. C. 1762,—was called to Ashford Nov. 1768, and ordained Feb. 15, 1769.

He died Jan. 6, 1782, leaving a widow without children. Her original name was Elizabeth Fisher. After the death of Mr. Messenger, she married Benjamin Hayward of Woodstock, and died in 1814.

Rev. ENOCH POND was the eldest son of Dea. Jacob Pond, of Wrentham, Ms., where he was born April 27, 1756. He graduated B. U. 1777, and A. M. He entered the American army for one year, and served as Ensign in Col. Lee's regiment.

On the expiration of his term of enlistment, he was employed some years as a school-teacher with great acceptance. He then studied theology with Dr. Emmons, and was settled at Ashford, Sept. 16, 1789. In this post he continued till his death by consumption, Aug. 6, 1807. Mr. Pond's ministry was marked by several powerful revivals, one of which, in 1798, added 80 members to his Church. He is reported a man of amiable character, pleasing manners, fluent speech and real worth. His epitaph, by a neighboring minister, runs thus:

Generous in Temper,  
Correct in Science and Liberal in Sentiment;  
The Gentleman, the Scholar, and the  
Minister of the Sanctuary,  
Appeared with Advantage in  
MR. POND.  
The Church and Society in Ashford were fa-  
vored with his Gospel Ministry  
Eighteen Years.

In yonder sacred house he spent his breath,  
Now silent, senseless, here he lies in death;  
These lips again shall wake, and then declare  
A loud Amen to truths they published there.

Mr. Pond married (1) Miss Margaret Smith, daughter of Col. John Smith, of Wrentham, by whom he had children; Hannah, Lucas, Marcus, Lucas, Betsey, Benj. Clark, Jacob, Enoch, Sally, Abigail, John; (2) Mrs. Mary Baker, of Roxbury.<sup>1</sup>

Rev. PHILO JUDSON was born in Woodbury, in 1792, a son of Philo and Emma (Minor) Judson. He graduated Y. C. 1809, and was ordained at Ashford, Sept. 26, 1811, in which charge he remained till dismissed, March 27, 1833. He was afterwards installed at Willimantic, Dec. 1834, and dismissed March 21, 1839; subsequently preached at Hanover and North Stonington and Rocky Hill, in which last place he was prostrated, during a revival, by bleeding at the lungs. Mr. Judson still resides at Rocky Hill, and has employed himself in selling school-books. His pastoral labors resulted in large accessions to the churches. He

<sup>1</sup> Blake's History of Mendon Association.

married Carrence, dau. of David Curtiss, of Woodbury.

Rev. JOB HALL was born at Pomfret, May 11, 1802, son of Apollos and Betsey (Williams) Hall. He graduated A. C. 1830, and studied theology at Andover,—was ordained at Ashford, Jan 15, 1834, and was dismissed July 17, 1837. He afterwards acted three years as Agent of the Am. Education Society in different parts of New England. In this work he contracted the bronchitis, from which disease he has never recovered so as to resume ministerial labor.

Mr. Hall married Sarah A. Buell, of Orwell, Vt., in which place he now resides. He has been a contributor to various periodicals.

Rev. CHARLES HYDE was born at Norwich, (Bean Hill) a son of James Hyde, a local Methodist preacher. He began his preparation for the ministry while a clerk in New York City, and continued it at Newark, N. J., under the direction of Dr. Armstrong and Rev. Dr. Richards. He was licensed by the Jersey Presbytery and ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia,—was first settled for nearly six years at Doylestown, Pa.,—then for about four years from June, 1830, at Norwich Falls, over a Church now disbanded. Leaving here in ill health, he was for a time Secretary of the N. Y. City Tract Society,—then pastor at Ashford from Feb. 21, 1838 to June 26, 1845,—next pastor at Central Falls, R. I., three years, and finally pastor at South Coventry from Oct. 10, 1849, to June 13, 1854. Being at that time deprived of health and strength, he retired to Ellington, where he still resides. His wife was Mary Ludlow, of New York, by whom he has had one son and six daughters.

Rev. CHARLES PEABODY graduated W. C. 1838,—studied theology at Andover,—was ordained pastor at Biddeford, Me., Dec. 8, 1841, removed thence and was minister at Barrington, R. I.,—was installed at Ashford, Jan. 20, 1847, and dismissed Sept. 11, 1850,—afterwards

officiated at Windsor, Ms., and at Pownal Vt.,—now resident at Biddeford, Me. He married Mrs. Almena White, who died in 1856.

Rev. CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN is a native of Holliston, Ms., and son of Enoch Jr., and Lucy (Holbrook) Chamberlain,—a graduate of Brown University in 1836, where he was tutor in 1837 and 1838. He studied theology at Andover and Union Seminaries, and with Dr. Ide. After laboring two years in Ohio, he returned to Massachusetts, and was ordained pastor in Berkley, July 8, 1842. He was dismissed in 1844, and afterwards preached in New York, and at Freetown and Mendon, Ms. He was installed at Auburn, Ms., July 9, 1851, and dismissed in 1854,—was installed at Ashford, June 8, 1854, and dismissed in 1858, to be installed April 14, 1858, over the neighboring Church of Eastford.

He married Miss Bassett, of Providence, R. I.<sup>1</sup>

THE SECOND CHURCH IN ASHFORD, (Westford Parish,) was formed Feb. 11, 1768. Its pastors have been as follows:

EBENEZER MARTIN,....	Ins. June 15, 1768
	Dis. — 1777
ELISHA HUTCHINSON,..	Ord. March 19, 1778
	Dis. Sept. — 1783
WILLIAM STORRS,.....	Ord. Nov. 10, 1790
	Died Nov. 30, 1824
LUKE WOOD,.....	Ins. Dec. 13, 1826
	Dis. Sept. 12, 1831
CHARLES S. ADAMS,....	Ins. Jan. 7, 1846
	Dis. April 29, 1858

Rev. EBENEZER MARTIN was born at Hampton, March 31, 1732, the son of Ebenezer and Jerusha (Durkee) Martin,—graduated Y. C. 1756,—was invited, Oct. 11, 1758, to settle in Township No. 4, of Berkshire County, Ms.—the town now called Becket—on a salary of 55 pounds, with a settlement of 50 pounds and a tract of land designated as No. 26. This invitation he accepted, and on the 23d of February, 1759, was ordained the first pastor of the Church in Becket. Here he remained in charge till the latter

<sup>1</sup> Blake's History of Mendon Association.

part of 1764, when he was dismissed, partly in consequence of some troubles that had arisen from the ownership of Becket lands by non-residents, and partly (it is believed) in consequence of some indiscretions of Mr. Martin.

From Becket he removed to Westford, where he was installed June 15, 1768, being once more the first pastor of a Church. Here he continued till sometime in 1777, when he was dismissed, not without some complaints of unministerial conduct, which, however, he met by apology and otherwise, in such a manner as to obtain a regular dismission.

Mr. Martin subsequently removed to New York, and lived at different times in the counties of Columbia, Saratoga, Chemung, and Broome, and also for a while in Tawanda, Penn.,—exercising his gifts as a preacher in most of these places. He died at Union, Broome Co., N. Y., Sept. 1795. His reputation, as gathered from tradition, was that of an able, but not always *wise* man,—one who said smart things and *odd* things, that were remembered sometimes to his discredit and injury.

He married (while in college, it is said,) Susan Plumbe, of Milford, and had seven sons and daughters, most of whom settled in New York.

An erroneous report has gained some currency that one of his daughters was the mother of Hon. Martin Van Buren, late President of the United States.

Rev. ELISHA HUTCHINSON was born in Sharon, Dec. 1750,—graduated D. C. 1775,—was unanimously invited to settle in Killingly, but declined, and was ordained pastor in Westford, March 19, 1778, where he remained till dismissed, on the first Tuesday of September, 1783. He was next installed in Pomfret, Vt.—a place then recently settled by colonists from the town of that name in Windham Co. Here he was installed Dec. 14, 1784, and dismissed Jan. 8, 1797, in consequence of a division of the people about locating a new meeting-house. Mr. Hutch-

inson remained in town some time after, and engaged for a while in secular callings. He afterwards removed to Hartford, N. Y., and thence to Coleraine, Ms., where he connected himself with the Baptist denomination,—thence to Susquehannah, Pa.,—after that to Williamson, N. Y., and finally to Newport, N. H., where he died in April, 1833, aged 83.

He married (1) Miss Jerusha Cadwell, of Westford, July 16, 1778, and (2) ——— By these two wives he was the father of fifteen children, of whom the youngest two—twin brothers—are ministers of the gospel in the Baptist connection. A memoir of Mr. H., from the pen of Rev. Baron Stow, D.D., can be found in the American Baptist Magazine for December, 1833. Tradition says that some difficulty arose in Westford, out of his marriage with a person not deemed suitable for a minister's wife,—an impression confirmed in after years.

Rev. WILLIAM STORRS was born in Mansfield, in 1760, son of William and ——— (Garley) Storrs,—graduated D. C. 1788, and received an honorary A. M. at Yale in 1810,—studied theology with Rev. Dr. Welch, of Mansfield, and was ordained pastor at Westford, Nov. 10, 1790, in which charge he remained till his death, Nov. 30, 1824. During his ministry he enjoyed several revivals, especially in 1799, 1809, and 1819,—the latter being a powerful work, and resulting in the addition of more than 50 to the Church. He is spoken of (says his successor, Rev. Mr. Adams, who furnished the materials of this sketch,) as an excellent pastor, a sound preacher—not very animated, except in time of revival. The inscription on his tomb-stone is, "Blessed are the peacemakers," indicating a prominent trait in his character.

Like many of the pastors of his time, he served for a short term, in 1808, as a missionary to the new settlements in Vermont. He married Miss Abigail Freeman Hovey, Dec. 1790, and had six children, who (with the exception of one

deranged son,) became highly respectable members of society. His wife survived him many years, and was a woman of moral and intellectual worth.

Rev. LUKE WOOD was born at Somers, —, graduated D. C. 1803,—was A. M. in course, and also at Yale,—studied theology with Dr. Emmons, was licensed by Hartford North Association, and ordained pastor at Waterbury, Nov. 30, 1808, where he continued till dismissed, Nov. 19, 1817, in consequence of severe sickness. On the recovery of his health, he spent several months in missionary labors in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Recalled from this work by the fatal illness of a member of his family, he engaged in Home Missionary labors in New England, and organized the Church now existing in Agawam, Ms. He was installed at Westford, Dec. 13, 1826, and dismissed at his own request, Sept. 12, 1831. He was next installed at Clinton, (then Killingworth) Oct. 13, 1831, and continued in that connection about five years. From thence he removed to Queechy Village, Hartford, Vt., where he was installed Aug. 26, 1835. Leaving that place, he was once more installed, at West Hartland, Sept. 19, 1838, but after a few years' service there, retired to his native town, where he spent the remainder of his days, preaching as occasion called, and engaging willingly and acceptably in the instruction of a Bible Class. He died Aug. 22, 1851, at the age of 74, full of years and labors.

Mr. Wood was eminently successful as a pastor, and did much to heal the wounds in Christ's Church, and to build up her waste places. His preaching was direct and practical in a good sense. A notice

of him may be found in the *Congregational Journal*, Feb. 4, 1852. He married Anna, daughter of Robert Pease, of Somers, and had eleven children, six of whom were living recently,—two sons physicians, and one a merchant, all in the State of Connecticut.

Rev. CHARLES S. ADAMS was born at Bath, Me., May 31, 1797, the son of Dr. Samuel and Abigail (Dodge) Adams,—graduated B. C. 1823 and A. M. in course,—studied theology with Mr. Tappan, of Augusta, was licensed by Kennebunk Association in 1824, and after laboring as a missionary for a while, was ordained at Newfield, Me., Sept. 17, 1828. From this charge he was dismissed for lack of support, Dec. 27, 1831, by the same council that installed him over the Second Church in Wells, Me. From this place he was dismissed Jan. 13, 1834, to take an agency for the American Education Society. From Feb. 1835, till May 1840, he supplied churches in Harwich, Eastham and Dartmouth, Ms. Jan. 13, 1841, he was installed at Washington Village, Coventry, R. I., but was dismissed Nov. 29, 1842,—then took an agency for the N. E. Puritan, and afterwards a mission to Illinois, from which he returned in ill health. He came to Westford, Sept. 1844, and was installed Jan. 7, 1846; was useful in securing the erection of a new house of worship, but was dismissed April 29, 1858, amid considerable agitation and contention.

Mr. Adams married Miss Jane D. Barker, of Georgetown, Me., and has had seven children. He has published several sermons, tracts, and poems, and has been usefully engaged in teaching.

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# A LESSON FROM THE PAST : THE PURITAN SABBATH—ITS ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE.

BY REV. JOSEPH S. CLARK, D.D.

OF all the legacies that the Puritans have left us, not one will more significantly herald their names along down the ages than the Puritan Sabbath. It was a rare honor to be called of God to rescue and replace in the decalogue his Fourth Commandment. Such was the honor conferred on them. Even Luther's reformation, convulsive as it was, did not reach the low stratum of degeneracy beneath which the sacredness of God's day lay buried. This achievement was reserved for that deeper movement in the moral world, that purer type of reform, which arose in the North of England near the close of the sixteenth century. And to this hour the idea of remembering the Sabbath day to *keep it holy*, has no binding force in any part of continental Europe, except where the foot-prints of Puritanism are found. Consequently sin runs riot, as by special indulgence, on the very day designed for its special restraint. Instead of being associated in pious minds with holy acts, as

"Day of all the week the best,"

it is really the worst. Compare this state of things with a New England Sabbath, as it is still observed after two centuries of degeneracy; compare the boisterous, mirth-provoking scenes witnessed in many parts of Protestant Christendom as often as this day returns, with that hallowed repose which, from long observance, has assumed, in our minds, the heaven-reflected image of a "rest that remains to the people of God." It will convey to the most stupid, some faint idea of the obligation we are under to those pious forefathers through whose care so rich an inheritance has descended. This bulwark of defence to all other good institutions;

this great moral breakwater against which the restless waves of worldliness surge and dash and are driven back, we owe to our Puritan ancestors. Under God, we are indebted to them for it, as will be seen by a glance at its origin and development.

Chronologically considered, the broken-down Sabbath was not the first breach in the walls of Zion that the Puritan reformers undertook to repair. "Hitherto," says Neal, [Hist. Puritans, vol. i., p. 208] "the controversy between the Church and the Puritans had been chiefly about habits, and ceremonies, and Church discipline, but now [1594] it began to open upon points of doctrine; for this year Dr. Bound published his treatise of the Sabbath, wherein he maintains the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's Day as much as the Jews on the Mosaic Sabbath, the commandment of rest being moral and perpetual; that, therefore, it was not lawful to follow our studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such recreations and pleasures as were lawful on other days, as shooting, fencing, bowling," &c.

To one brought up in New England, or in Old England either, for the last two centuries, it may seem strange that "Christians" could need a treatise to enforce such obvious truths, which none but infidels, heretics or profligates, will now call in question. But it must be borne in mind that the Sabbath had been losing its sanctity for centuries, till at length it had come to be considered less sacred than many other days in the calendar set apart by mere human authority, and was not so scrupulously observed

as those human appointments. Sports, which the more volatile among us now would find congenial with their hilarious propensities on the "Fourth of July," were brought into the Lord's Day, and had not only the connivance, but the encouragement, of the highest functionaries in Church and State. On one occasion, about ten years before this treatise was published, "several persons were killed and a great many wounded," by the falling of a scaffold in Southwark, London, on which a crowd were gathered to witness these Sabbath sports. The lord-mayor, regarding it as a judgment of heaven for such abuses, sought, but could not obtain, the requisite commission for putting a stop to these proceedings, [Strype's Ann., vol. ii., pp. 532, 533.] Thus the profanations of the Sabbath were not only continued, but were continually increasing, when Dr. Bound's book came forth, and "had a wonderful spread among the people," Mr. Neal goes on to say, "and wrought a mighty reformation, so that the Lord's Day, which used to be profaned by interludes, May-games, morrice-dances, and other sports and recreations, began to be kept more precisely. All the Puritans fell in with this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private acts of devotion."

But such a book could not be expected to get far without opposition. "The governing clergy exclaimed against it as a restraint of Christian liberty, as putting an unequal lustre on the Sunday, and tending to eclipse the authority of the Church in appointing their festivals." The authority of Archbishop Whitgift, and of Lord-chief-justice Popham, were both exerted to call in the copies sold, and suppress the publication—on the ground that "this Sabbath doctrine agreed neither with the doctrine of our Church, nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom; that it disturbed the peace of the Commonwealth and Church, and tended

to schism in the one, and sedition in the other." [Neal, vol. i., pp. 208-9.] But it all availed nothing; the new doctrines ("Sabbatarian errors," they were called by the opposition,) were studied more than ever in private, and spread like "leaven hid in three measures of meal." The greater the Sabbath indulgences offered to the people, the less they were disposed to take them,—as being jealous of a design," says Fuller, "to blow up their civil liberties." Immediately on the death of the Archbishop, Dr. Bound, with true Puritan persistency, was ready with a second edition, much enlarged, which was published in 1606; "and such was its reputation," says Neal, "that scarce any comment or catechism was published by the stricter divines for many years, in which the morality of the Sabbath was not strongly recommended and urged." In our Congregational Library is a quaint old parchment-covered volume, published the same year, entitled "Cases of Conscience. Taught and delivered by Mr. W. Perkins in his Holy-day Lectures, carefully examined by his owne breefes, and now published for the common good by Th. P. Bachelour of Divinitie;" in which a long chapter is devoted to "The Sabbath day,"—particularly in answering these three questions: (1.) "Whether it be in the libertie of the Church of God vpon earth, to alter the Sabbath day from the seaventh day, to any other? (2.) How the Sabbath of the New Testament is to be observed? (3.) When the Sabbath doth beginne?" As might be expected of the spiritual father and theological teacher of John Robinson, Mr. Perkins sets himself boldly against the prevailing sins of his time. The idea "that on the Sabbath day (after the public worship of God is ended, and the congregation dissolved,) men have liberty either to give themselves to labor, or to honest pleasures and recreations," is repelled in the following earnest language. "This opinion doth quite abolish one of the Commandments of the Decalogue.

For it presupposeth all days to be alike, this only provided, that the public worship of God be solemnly kept. Now this may be done in any day of the week; and there will be no need of appointing a set time for God's service, if all days be equal, without any difference or distinction. But the Fourth Commandment (for substance) is eternal, and requireth (upon pains of the curse) both rest from labor, and a setting apart of the same rest, to duties of holiness and religion. And if it command abstinence from ordinary labor, then much more from pleasures and recreations."

These extracts will suffice to show how this Sabbath reform originated, and what necessity there was for it; as also who were actors in carrying it forward, and from what quarters it encountered opposition. Let the reader imagine the Church party, with the King at their head, determined to keep out this (so called) rigid, Pharisaical, canting Sabbath observance, by inventing new sports, and granting new indulgencies to sin on that sacred day; and the Puritan party equally and still more resolutely determined to keep themselves unspotted from the world in this matter, and to use all available means to bring others to their views, till in the rising fortunes of Puritanism, and the depressions of prelacy, the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the realm were both brought, not only to abolish whatever Sabbath breaking statutes had been enacted, but to enact others in accordance with the Puritan practice;—and there will be no occasion to pursue this branch of the subject farther. He will have a correct view of the process through which the Puritan Sabbath got established in the world.

In forming a correct estimate of its influence on New England character and institutions, we must look at it, not as a dogma, nicely compacted among the articles of a religious creed, but as a practical verity—a real Sabbath observance. So far as we can, we must look into the domestic circle of a Saturday evening, or a Sabbath

morning. We must go to meeting with them and observe how many hours are spent there, and *how* they are spent. We must examine the old musty statutes and see what laws were passed for the observance of the Sabbath, and what punishments were inflicted for their violation. Data like these afford the best, and, in fact, the only reliable ground for a correct judgment on this subject.

Happily for us, these data, to a limited extent, are within our reach. We know where and how the May-flower Company kept their first Sabbath on these shores; and brief as the record is which an eye-witness has left us of that day's doings, it speaks volumes.<sup>1</sup> It suggests to the reflecting mind a scene, which some fortunate painter—destined to immortalize his name—will yet sketch, as more truly characteristic of Puritanism in its New England development, than has ever been put on canvas. The boat lying there, of a Sabbath morning, on the lonely beach of that small island, just within the entrance of Plymouth harbor, does not belong to a company of pleasure-seeking Sabbath-breakers from some neighboring port or nook, as, at our point of observation in the middle of this nineteenth century might naturally be inferred; nor are those strains of vocal music, which cold gusts of the North-west wind bring to our ears in broken swells, any other than the high-sounding praises of God, going up from that group of eighteen Puritans, as Dea. John Carver "lines a Psalm," which they all sing with uplifted heart and

<sup>1</sup> In Bradford's Journal, lately discovered in England, and printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the account is given thus, immediately after the record of their perilous escape to Clark's Island on that stormy Friday night. "But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing, (as usually he doth to his children), for the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces and rest themselves, and give God thanks for his mercies in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared to keep the Sabbath."

voice. But why are they there, under the open canopy of heaven, on that raw December day? Because it was just there that the Sabbath overtook them, while searching to find a place of settlement for themselves and their little ones whom they left four days ago at the end of Cape Cod, on board the *May-flower*, in charge of a Captain who begins to talk of setting them all ashore on the sand, unless they find a place soon. But how is it that, under such a pressing necessity, they can spare the time for so much psalm-singing, and prayer, and prophesying? Do they not know that works of "necessity and mercy" are lawful on that day? Yes, but they do not believe that their present necessities are sufficient to justify a suspension of the Sabbath law, in the sight of God. They are even more scrupulous than that; rather than approach the Lord's Day under such bodily exhaustion as will unfit them for religious worship, (an essential part of their Sabbath observance,) they would spend the whole of Saturday in recovering tired nature from extra fatigue, and preparing for the Sabbath,—as they actually did!

Here we have the Puritan Sabbath, not as discussed in a learned treatise; not as explained in a catechism; not as enforced in a sermon; but as *actually kept*, and that, too, under circumstances which exclude all suspicion of any sham observance—any mere pretence of religious strictness. We may be sure, after examining this specimen of Sabbath keeping, that no ordinary event would interrupt the Sabbath rest or the Sabbath worship of such men; that once fairly settled, and their social customs developed in the daily walks of life, these fathers of New England would come nearer than any others on earth to that Scripture ideal of "turning away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and calling the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable."

Another specimen, different in kind, but of like significance, was furnished in

the month of March following, when the first opportunity was afforded them of negotiating a treaty and opening a traffic with the native tribes, which they had eagerly desired to do ever since their landing, but which they must now decline, *because it is the Sabbath!* Whether those five stalwart Wampanoags, who have come to Plymouth with skins on purpose to trade, can be made to understand why "nothing must be said or done about trade at this time;" whether, if they be made to understand, they will even then appreciate the reason for such refusal, or feel insulted by it, as they march off mute, with their valuable peltry on their backs; whether another such opportunity will ever occur for negotiating a business so vital to their interests; and if so, where or how it will be brought about;—these questions may have risen in their minds, and probably did; but they saw in them no sufficient cause for secularizing the Sabbath. The "necessity" which, in their view, would warrant such a thing, was not to be measured by dollars and cents. "Thou shalt honor Him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasures, nor speaking thine own words," was their ready answer to all such questions of casuistry.

The legislation of those times sheds some light on the Puritan Sabbath, though less than might be supposed. The old adage, that "bad morals beget good laws," was verified in the Parliamentary acts of England as soon as the Puritans came into power. Not only were those profane sports abolished which had crept into use under royal and prelate sanction, but statutes of an opposite and counteracting tendency were passed. It was resolved by the lower House as early as 1641, "That the Lord's Day should be duly observed and sanctified; that all dancing, or other sports, either before or after Divine service, be forborne and restrained; and that the preaching of God's Word be promoted in the afternoon, in the several churches and chapels of this kingdom."

[Neal, vol. i., 391.] But among the first settlers of New England there was scarcely any call for such legislation, so universal was the custom of remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy. There was indeed a plantation commenced at Mount Wollaston, in Braintree, under Episcopal auspices, where Sabbath sports were indulged to the full extent of King James' recommendation. But one of the first official acts of Governor Endicott, on his arrival at Salem, was to visit the spot, "rebuke" the inhabitants "for their profaneness," admonish them "to look to it that they walked better," cause their "Maypole to be cut down," and change "Merry Mount" (as they had named the place) into "Mount Dagon." [Morton's Memorial, p. 91.] All this was so accordant with the spirit which reigned here at the time, that no specific legislation was needed to authorize the step. Fines of three to thirty shillings are occasionally found in the early Colonial records, with sometimes the addenda of "stocks," or "stripes;" but most of the laws on this subject which have become associated in our minds with the Puritan age, came in at a later day; and so far from illustrating its spirit, serve rather to mark its decline, by showing a necessity for legal interference, of which there had been no previous need.

That Puritanical observance of the Sabbath, which, in the second and third generations of New England planters began to require some gentle stimulant from civil legislation, and which to us seems so painfully strict, with the first comers was the most spontaneous and gladsome affair in the world. It was literally "a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable." Almost any words which would express their ideas of heaven and its occupations, would also describe their views of the Sabbath and its services. As they participated in its rest and religious rites, they aspired to realize that "rest which remains to the people of God," and to join, in spirit, with the upper

worship. Nor did they always fall much short of it. Often, like John in Patmos, they were "in the Spirit on the Lord's Day." Though pretending to no apocalyptic visions, the eye of faith, purged from earthly films by consecutive hours of intense devotion, caught glimpses of things scarcely less enrapturing. What need had such men of a law to regulate their Sabbath observance, when it was without law, and, in some sense, *against* law, that they had risen so far above the Sabbath-keeping standard of the centuries preceding? We do the Puritans great injustice to suppose that, in their strict, punctilious life on the Lord's Day, they were acting under any other constraint than that of the love they bore to the Lord of the Sabbath,—which did indeed constrain them to keep their hearts and hands disencumbered, as far as possible, from the world, that they might the more readily "be filled with all the fulness of God;" and which, by imposing a truce on their social intercourse, left them more free to commune with Christ. When, in accordance with the prevailing usage in New England, they suspended all secular toil at the going down of the sun on Saturday, and began their Sabbath service with an evening prayer, a psalm, and a season of solitary self-examination, it was with more gladness of heart than that which Burns ascribes to the "Cotter's" children on coming home after the week's drudgery is over, to exchange salutations around the old hearth-stone, and receive anew the paternal benediction.<sup>1</sup> In like

<sup>1</sup> The Puritans did not all commence their Sabbath on Saturday evening. Mr. W. Perkins, in his "Cases of Conscience," already referred to, argues strongly in favor of beginning the Christian Sabbath "in the morning and so to continue till the next morning, and not in the evening till the evening." [Book ii., chap. 16.] The views of Mr. Robinson, his theological pupil, are nowhere expressed, unless the subsequent usage of his Church at Plymouth may be taken as such an expression,—which is quite as likely to have been derived from John Cotton, whose opinion on all such points was well nigh supreme in the New England churches. This old custom of keeping, or pretending to keep, Saturday evening as part of holy time, which, in many families, was continued

manner, with a keen spiritual relish for "holy" time, "holy" acts, "holy" pleasures, they arose the next morning earlier than on other days, revolving in their hearts the words of David, "Awake up, my glory; awake, psaltry and harp; I myself will awake early." With no more labor than was barely sufficient to supply food for themselves and their cattle, which had been provided as far as might be on the previous day; with as few and noiseless steps as possible, both in-doors and out; with but little talking, and that in a subdued voice; they entered upon a round of private meditation, family devotions, and public worship, which engaged their delighted and unflagging souls till the sun went down,—an event which usually found them with Catechism in hand, or repeating the sermons of the day.

Such, in brief, was the Puritan Sabbath, as actually kept by nine-tenths, if not by ninety-nine hundredths, of the first settlers of New England. And mighty has been its influence in moulding New England character and institutions. It could not have been otherwise with a social usage so marked, repeated so often, and getting such firm hold on the heart and life of the whole community. It had a strengthening and subtending influence on themselves. If Puritanism brought in the Sabbath, the Sabbath braced up Puritanism and prolonged its reign. Whether we regard it in the light of a cause, or an effect, it was inseparably connected with some of the noblest traits and grandest achievements of the age. "For my part," said the renowned John Owen, who had the best opportunities for knowing the facts, "I must not only say, but plead, whilst I live in this world, and leave this testimony to the present and future ages, that, if ever I have seen any-

some ways into the present century, has nearly or quite ceased,—not so much, it is hoped, from lax principles of Sabbath-keeping, as from an enlightened persuasion that, in the words of the old Puritan above cited, "The Sabbath is to begin where other ordinary days begin, according to the order and account of the Church wherein we live."

thing of the ways and worship of God, wherein the power of religion or godliness hath been expressed; anything that hath represented the holiness of the gospel and the author of it; anything that looked like a prelude to the everlasting Sabbath, and rest with God, which we aim through grace to come unto,—it hath been there, and with them, where, and among whom, the Lord's Day hath been held in highest esteem, and a strict observation of it attended unto, as an ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ." These expressions, which have particular reference to Sabbath keeping on the other side of the water, might have been applied with additional emphasis to the observance of that day here, where it had become a standing proverb, that "our whole religion fares according to our Sabbaths; that poor Sabbaths make poor Christians, and a strictness in our Sabbaths inspires a vigor in all our other duties." [See *Mather's Life of Eliot*.] It was in illustration of this truth that Giles Firmin, in a sermon before Oliver Cromwell and the British Parliament, said of New England, "I have lived in a country seven years, and all that time I never heard one profane oath, and all that time never did see a man drunk." We have no doubt that cases of profanity and drunkenness existed; but had the reverend gentlemen found them, as they occasionally turned up in criminal courts, they would not have weakened the force of his reasoning, but rather have strengthened it; for they would have proved that such are just the persons to break the Sabbath. It is a singular, but significant fact, that no individual is noticed in the early colonial records as complained of for violating the Lord's Day, who does not also stand charged, either there or elsewhere, with other misdeeds. For example, the first notice of a Sabbath desecration found in the Plymouth Court Records, is entered thus:—"June 5, 1638. Web Adey, being presented for a breach of the Sabbath, by working two several Sabbath days, one



after the other, and for disorderly living in idleness and nastiness, is censured by the bench to sit in the stocks during the pleasure of the bench; and if he cannot procure himself a master that will take him into his service betwixt this and the next Court of Assistents, that then the Governor and Assistents provide a master for him." This working on the Sabbath and living in laziness through the week, gives us a true picture of the moral debasement stamped upon the neglecters of the Sabbath at that time in New England. As the excellent of the earth were uniformly found among its strictest observers, so the vilest were always trampling its sanctity in the dust.

By reflecting on facts like these, we discover how mightily the Puritan Sabbath moulded New England, and how manifest the foot-prints of its early and all-pervading influence still are. Those institutions of ours, whether domestic, social, or religious, which are most highly prized by us, or praised by others, had never got established nor been continued, without the fostering aid of just such a strict, punctilious observance of the fourth commandment. Indeed, the coming of the May-flower Pilgrims to these shores at all, was mainly due to their attachment to the Sabbath, and the difficulty they found in changing the old habits of the Hollanders into conformity with theirs,—“insomuch that in ten years time, whilst their Church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's Day as a Sabbath,” nor keep their own families from the surrounding infection. This is given by Secretary Morton as the first of five reasons which induced them to emigrate. Subsequent comers had similar reasons for seeking the wilderness. During the “Puritan Commonwealth,” or down to the end of the colonial charters in 1692, the Sabbath was the spinal column of the body politic; and to this day the moral brace of the whole system is

mainly derived from what remains of the same column. That it has been sadly weakened in its influence on the masses, cannot be questioned by any one who will compare the present with the past. Yet is there left to it an efficiency which no mere human contrivance ever had—a power for good, which proclaims that it originated in heaven and was made for man. As an alleviation from the killing effect of incessant toil—giving to the physical nature a chance to exert her recuperative power—the testimony of Dr. John Richard Farre before the British House of Commons, in 1832, expresses the unanimous opinion of the most intelligent physicians in all lands: that “the sabbatical appointment is to be numbered among the natural duties, if the preservation of life be a duty, and the premature destruction of it a suicidal act.” This he said “simply as a physician, and without reference at all to the theological question; but,” he adds, “if you consider further the proper effects of real Christianity, namely, peace of mind, confiding trust in God, and good will to man, you will perceive in this source of renewed vigor to the mind, and through the mind to the body, an additional spring of life imparted from this higher use of the Sabbath as a holy rest.” As a humanizing, civilizing agency, adapted to soften the asperities of a fallen race, and to develop that amenity of character, which, next to the grace of God, is the highest adornment of social life, nothing will compare with those Puritanical observances of the Lord's Day which not only interrupt the current of worldliness—but bring together all the different grades of society on a common level, with united hearts, in pursuit of a common object. As a means of converting the soul, and weaning it from earth, and fitting it for heaven, there is a power in the pious observance of the Sabbath, rendered the more visible in the utter powerlessness of all other means, while this is willfully omitted.

## JOHN WICKLIFFE:

## A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND OPINIONS.

BY GEORGE PUNCHARD.

[We are permitted by the author to place upon our pages the following abridgement of the seventh and eighth chapters of a forthcoming and much improved edition of his HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM. The whole subject has been investigated *de novo*, the book almost entirely rewritten, and enough new matter added to swell the original volume into two or three. He has spared no pains, having actually spent more than three years' time in bringing forward this edition; which, we can assure the public, will come forth the most learned and complete view of the subject, that has ever appeared.—Eds.]

JOHN WICKLIFFE, "honored of God to be the first preacher of a general reformation to all Europe," as Milton says; and "the modern discoverer of the doctrines of Congregational dissent," deserves a prominent place in the history of Congregationalism. Neither the time nor the place of his nativity are certainly known. He was probably born about 1324, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, England.<sup>1</sup>

Of Wicliffe's youthful history nothing is known. It is said, that he was early devoted to the Church, and was entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1340, when he was about seventeen years old; and that he afterwards removed to Merton

<sup>1</sup> The London and Westminster Review, No. 1, 1837, contains a valuable article on Wicliffe, in which he is called "the modern discoverer of the doctrines of Congregational dissent."

The name of the Reformer is spelt in almost every conceivable way, as: — Wicliff, Wicliff, Wycliff, Wycliff, Wycliffe, Wycliff, Wicliff, Wicliff, Wicliffe, &c. &c.

The time of his birth is conjectural. Lewis, his earliest biographer, says that "he was born, very probably, about the year 1324." Leland, in his Itinerary says: "They say John Wicliff, hereticus, was born at Spreswell, [Hipswell] a poore village, a good myle from Richmond."—Vol. v., p. 114 of folio edition.

Vaughan, Wicliffe's latest biographer, says he was born at the small village of Wycliffe, about six miles from Richmond. Compare Shirley's Introduction to "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wycliff*," pp. x—xii. Lond. 1858; and *Whitaker's Richmondshire*, Vol. I. pp. 20, 197-8, and Vol. II. pp. 41-42.

College, for the sake of better opportunities of study. But, we really know nothing of his connection with Oxford until about 1361, when we find him master, or warden, of Balliol College. In 1363-5, 1374-5, and in 1380, he was also residing in rooms in Queen's College. Wherever he may have spent his early years, it is quite evident that they were devoted to close study; so that one of his bitterest enemies, Knighton, a contemporary, declared him to be "second to no one in philosophy, and in scholastic accomplishments altogether incomparable." He was also familiar with civil and ecclesiastical law, and with the municipal laws and customs of his own country. His varied, extensive and accurate knowledge enabled him to stand without a rival in the public disputations, which were then in high repute; and procured for him the highest reputation in the university, and in the kingdom generally. This reputation for logical acuteness and scholastic learning gave his peculiar theological opinions great influence. These were formed chiefly by a diligent study of the sacred Scriptures. In the knowledge of these, Wicliffe excelled all his contemporaries, and earned from them the enviable title of *The Evangelical Doctor*, or *Gospel Doctor*. But in his devotion to the inspired volume he did not neglect the Fathers of the Church: Augustine, Jerome, Basil and Gregory, appear to have been his favorite authors among the primitive writers; and Grosseteste and Fitzralph among the moderns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Vaughan, vol. i., p. 234; *Le Bas*, p. 102; *Milner*, cent. xiv., ch. 8. *Fox*, bks. iv. and v., particularly vol. i., p. 484, folio edition, 1684; *Collier*, vol. iii., p. 189. See also *Fasciculi*, Intr. pp. 12, 38.

It is impossible for us in this age of scriptural intelligence duly to estimate the strength of mind, the depth of principle, and the intrepidity of the man, who, in the fourteenth century, could break away from Duns Scotus, Peter Lombard, Aristotle, and "Mother Church," and form his theological opinions from the word of God, aided by the lights of the fourth century. A writer of the twelfth century, quoted by Prof. Le Bas, tells us, that in his day—and it was not materially otherwise in Wickliffe's—those teachers who appealed to the Scriptures for authority were "not only rejected as Philosophers, but unwillingly endured as clergymen; nay, were scarcely acknowledged to be *men*. They became objects of derision, and were termed *The bullocks of Abraham*, or the *Asses of Balaam*." Fox, the martyrologist, thus describes the church and the world at the time of Wickliffe's appearance: "This is without all doubt, that when the world was in a most desperate and vile state, and lamentable darkness and ignorance of God's truth overshadowed the whole earth, this man [Wickliffe] stepped out like a valiant champion." "Scripture learning and divinity was known but to a few, and that in schools only, and there also it was almost all turned into sophistry. Instead of the Epistles of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas, and Scotus, and Lombard, the Master of Sentences. The world, leaving and forsaking God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed, so that scarcely anything else was taught in the churches."<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of this gross darkness, and in defiance of all this contempt for God's word, John Wickliffe became a diligent student of the Bible, and a constant expounder of its sacred contents. Some three hundred of his manuscript homilies, or expository discourses, are still preserved in the British Museum, and in the libraries

of Cambridge and Dublin, and in other collections.

This intimate acquaintance with the truth of God opened the eyes of the faithful student, to the falsehoods of men. He began to see the inconsistencies, absurdities and iniquities of those who were the spiritual guides of the people. And what he saw, he dared to speak; and what he spake was not in doubtful terms. His first publication is assigned to the year A. D. 1356, when he was in his thirty-second year. The nation at that time had been suffering for several years under a grievous plague: probably more than one hundred thousand of his countrymen had fallen before the destroyer, and "men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which [had come] on the earth." The devout, and perhaps somewhat excited mind of Wickliffe regarded this awful pestilence as the servant of an angry God, sent forth to chastise the nation for its sins, and to announce the commencement of "the last age" and the speedy approach of the end of the world. Under these impressions, he published a tract, bearing the title: "*De Ultima Etate Ecclesie*," Concerning the Last Age of the Church.<sup>2</sup> In this work he boldly inveighs against the worldliness, the rapacity, the sensuality, the simony, and the utter degeneracy of the clergy; and denounces them as blind guides, who, instead of leading the people by precept and example into the ways of truth and holiness, had plunged them into the abyss of sin and crime. Thus the Reformer fairly launched forth among the stormy elements, whose buffetings he was destined long to endure.

About four years after this publication, in 1360, Wickliffe was found in the front rank of opposition to the Mendicants.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Some of Wickliffe's biographers assign this publication an earlier date—when he was about twenty-five years old.—I follow *Vaughan*, vol. i., p. 241. *Shirley*, *Intr. to Fasciculi*, denies that Wickliffe wrote this tract.—p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The title of "*Mendicants*" is given to the numerous orders in the Romish church who, under pretence of renouncing the world and all earthly

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, bk. v., A. D. 1370-1389.

Allusion has already been made to the introduction of these pretended poverty-loving beggars. Under pretence of zeal for "Holy Church," they spread themselves thickly over the kingdom, and engrossed nearly all the clerical duties of the nation. Travelling continually as they did, and numerous as they were, they gained access to all classes of society, in every section of the country. They were the companions and confessors of the rich, and the preachers and directors of the poor. Ever ready to confess all who came to them, and ignorant, as they generally were, of the character of those who applied for absolution, these Mendicants virtually encouraged every species of iniquity. The wicked would say to each other, according to Matt. Paris: "Let us follow our own pleasure. Some one of the preaching brothers will soon travel this way; one whom we never saw before, and never shall see again; so that, when we have had our will, we can confess without trouble or annoyance." Bishop Fitzralph makes the following statement of the doings of the Mendicants in Ireland: "I have in my diocese of Armagh, about two thousand persons who stand condemned by the censures of the church denounced every year against murderers, thieves, and such like malefactors; of all which number, scarcely fourteen have applied to me or to my clergy for absolution. Yet they all receive the sacraments as others do, because they are absolved, or pretend to be absolved, by friars."<sup>1</sup>

acquisitions, were licensed by the pope to roam over the world and make proselytes to Antichrist, and subsist upon the gifts of the people, without having, like the regular clergy, any fixed revenues for their support. In this account of Wicliffe's contest with the Mendicants, I have but followed the current of the history of the times. Mr. Shirley, however, says these "are facts only by courtesy and repetition." He thinks that another, contemporary John Wicliffe, or Whyteclive, of Mayfield, was the real antagonist; at this time, of the Mendicants.—*Fasciculi*, Intr. p. 13, and Appendix, 513-38.

<sup>1</sup> Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, bk. v., where may be found the "conclusions" of Armachanus (Fitzralph) against "the begging friars." See also, Vaughan's *Life of Wycliffe*, vol. i., p. 254; and Fox's

Not content with this absorption of the duties of the regular clergy, and this encouragement of crime, these voracious animals laid hold of every civil office within their reach. They even entered the Court, in the character of counsellors, and chamberlains, and treasurers, and negociators of marriages. By their numerous arts and efforts—by lying, and begging, and confessing, by frightening the ignorant and flattering the rich—"within the four-and-twenty years of their establishment in England," Matthew Paris says, "these friars piled up their mansions to a royal altitude."<sup>2</sup>

A man of Wicliffe's character could not contemplate these movements without indignation. But that which brought him more immediately into conflict with these

account of monks and monkery, ancient and medieval, bk. iii., A. D. 928-935, and bk. iv., A. D. 1220.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew of Westminster tells us, that the Franciscans once offered the Pope forty thousand ducats in gold (about \$100,000) to sanction the violation of their rule respecting property. His Holiness quietly took the offered bribe, and then sent the honest monks his order, not to violate the rule of St. Francis.—*Vaughan*, ii., 255.

Fox (bk. iv., A. D. 1220) preserves a caustic little "Treatise of Geoffrey Chaucer's, entitled 'Jack Up-land,'" against the friars. Jack, "a simple ploughman," proposes sundry significant questions to the friars, for his own private satisfaction: e. g.—"Why make ye so costly houses to dwell in, sith [since] Christ did not so?"—"Why say ye not the Gospel in houses of bed-ridden men, as ye do in rich men's, that mow [might] go to the church and hear the Gospel?"—"Why covet ye shrifs [confessions] and burying of other men's parishens [parishioners], and none other sacrament that belongeth to Christian folk?"—"Why covet you not to bury poor folk among you, sith that they bin most holy, as ye saine that ye been for your poverty?"

Notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence furnished by all contemporaneous history, of the deceitful, avaricious, corrupt, and iniquitous character of the monkery of Wicliffe's day, and the manifest fact, that the vital interests of true religion were ruthlessly sacrificed by the monks, Dr. Lingard speaks of Wicliffe's controversy "with the different orders of friars" as "a fierce, but ridiculous controversy;" and launches forth into a panegyric on the "zeal, piety, and learning" of the friars, by which they "had deservedly earned the esteem of the public."—*Hist. Eng.*, vol. iv., ch. 2, p. 157. If they "had deservedly earned" anything, it was the detestation of all good men. Even Sir Thomas More satirized the monks.

"Black Friars,"<sup>1</sup> was their encroachment on the University of Oxford. The first monastery of the Dominicans was erected near this ancient seat of learning, and at first enjoyed the countenance and encouragement of its professors. It was not long, however, before the university had reason to deplore the influence of the friars. Their acquaintance with all classes in society, in all parts of the kingdom; their pretensions to piety; their influence and wealth, enabled them to draw away from the university, to their monasteries, vast numbers of young men. Many parents, unwilling to have their sons enter on a life of mendicancy, "were more willing," as Fitzralph tells us, "to make them '*erthe tilyers*' [earth tillers], and have them, than to send them to the universitie, and lose them." The operation of these causes, in a few years reduced the number of students in Oxford from thirty thousand to six thousand.

It was not to be expected that the university would tamely submit to such encroachments upon its prerogatives. Aided by the bishops and the regular clergy, her professors had for some time been at war with the mendicant army, when, in 1360, Wickliffe entered the lists. His earnest, bold, and effective opposition to these depredators secured the gratitude of the learned and the esteem of the virtuous generally; and it is not unlikely, procured for him the wardenship of Balliol College, Oxford, where we find him as early as April, 1361. How long he had been there, or how long he remained, we cannot exactly tell; but probably not long; for, on November 20th, 1356, Robert De Derby was warden of Balliol, and Wickliffe's immediate predecessor was William De Kingston; and on May 10th, 1361, Wickliffe was instituted, on the presentation of the College, to the rectory of Tylingham, in Lincolnshire; and in

October, 1363, we find him renting rooms in Queen's College; having, in the interval between these two dates, probably, resided some time on his living in Lincolnshire.<sup>2</sup> In November, 1368, Wickliffe exchanged this living, for that of Ludgershall, in Buckinghamshire, on the presentation of Sir John Paveley, prior of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John; and in April, 1374, he exchanged this, again, on presentation of the Crown, in the forty-eighth year of Edward III., for the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, which he retained to the day of his death.

During nearly all his professional life, Wickliffe appears to have resided a part of his time at Oxford, where he rented rooms. This, no doubt, was for the purposes of study.

His biographers generally, describe him as warden, or master of Canterbury Hall, about the year 1365; and one of his contemporaries, and many of his modern enemies, ascribe to his violent removal from that post of honor, by Archbishop Langham, in March, 1367—an act confirmed by Urban V., in May, 1370—Wickliffe's subsequent opposition to the Pope and his clergy generally. But, there is good reason to doubt whether *our* John Wickliffe was ever warden of Canterbury Hall;

<sup>2</sup> For the proof of these assertions see *Fasciculi*, Introduction, pp. xiv. and xv., notes 4 and 5.

The full title of this important work, to which I shall have occasion to refer very frequently, is as follows:—"*Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. Edited by the Rev. Walter Waddington Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman, Brown & Co., 1858." Royal 8vo. pp. lxxvii., and 553.

This work is a sort of contemporaneous history of Wickliffe and the Lollards; though chiefly valuable for the numerous official documents, illustrative of Lollardism, which it contains. It has long been well known to the learned, but was never before published. The only manuscript of this entire work, which has come down to us, was in the hands of the celebrated bishop Bale, of Ossory, and was loaned by him to Fox, the Martyrologist, and was used by him in compiling his *Acts and Monuments*.

<sup>1</sup> This appellation they bore from the circumstance that their dress was black. When they first settled in London, a tract of land was given them by the city, which lies along the Thames, and still bears the name of *Blackfriars*.

and if he was, the fact that he kept up his attacks on the ambition, tyranny and avarice of the rulers of the church, and the idleness, debauchery and hypocrisy of the monks, during the pendency of this Canterbury-Hall question, sufficiently refutes this old monkish slander.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1366, when the kingdom was threatened with another war with France, before it had recovered from the losses and exhaustion consequent on previous wars, which had brought glory, rather than any solid advantages to England—this year was chosen by the pope, then much in the interest of France, to demand the arrears of the tribute money guaranteed by King John (A. D. 1213), to save himself and the kingdom from the destructive consequences of an interdict and excommunication from the Pope. John had bound himself and his successors on the throne of England, to pay an annual tribute of one thousand marks in silver. Two of John's successors had paid the odious tax—Henry III. and Edward II.; but Edward III., had refused to pay it, and there were now arrearages of over thirty years claimed by the Pope. In May, 1366, parliament assembled to consider this claim, and gave the Pope such an answer as set the matter at rest forever.

The minions of the pope, of course, denounced this decision of the king and parliament; and one of them, a monk, challenged Wicliffe, who was then a royal chaplain, to defend his prince and the parliament, in the schools of the university. Wicliffe accepted the challenge,

and stepped boldly forward in defence of his country's independence of all vassalage to Rome; a step as unpopular in Rome as it was popular in England.

It was not far from this time, that Oxford conferred on Wicliffe the degree of doctor of divinity; an honor which carried with it the right to read divinity lectures in the university.<sup>2</sup>

This opened to him a new field of usefulness, which he was not slow to occupy; and gave him facilities for sowing the good seed of the kingdom in a fruitful soil; which, in after years yielded some precious fruit.

About this same time, the Reformer prepared and sent forth a plain and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandments, for general circulation. The necessity for such a work may be estimated by what he tells us in his preface:—that it was no uncommon thing for men "to call God, Master, forty, three-score, or four-score years, and yet remain ignorant of his Ten Commandments." This publication was followed by several small tracts, entitled "The Poor Catiff," or instruction for the poor; written in English, as the author declares, for the purpose of "teaching simple men and women the way to heaven."<sup>3</sup> These humble labors of the learned professor furnish a beautiful commentary on his religious character, and are in perfect keeping with the enviable title which he long enjoyed of *The Evangelical Doctor*.

In the year 1374, Wicliffe was called from the university into public life. He was sent by parliament on an embassy to the pope, to obtain the redress of certain

<sup>1</sup> Wodeford, a contemporary monk, of the Grey Friars order, London, a bitter adversary of Wicliffe, who wrote somewhat extensively against his opinions, is believed to be the only contemporary who charges our Reformer with never having said anything against the monks or possessional clergy until after his expulsion from Canterbury Hall.—*Fasciculi*, pp. 517-18, 523-24. See, however, the argument against this presumption, in Mr. Shirley's Note on the two John Wicliffes.—*Fasciculi*, pp. 513-528.

Lingard repeats Wodeford's charge, by insinuation.—Vol. iv., ch. 2, p. 169; and Collier, too, seems willing to believe this old scandal.—vol. iii., p. 179

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Bale, and Wicliffe's biographers generally, place the doctorate under 1372; but Mr. Shirley, whose special mission it seems to be, to correct the errors of previous writers on Wicliffe, thinks the doctorate must have been given to him some time between 1361 and 1366, probably in 1363.—See *Fasciculi*, Intro., xv.—xviii.

<sup>3</sup> These tracts, with some other selections from Wicliffe's practical writings, have been published by the London Religious Tract Society. Dr. Vaughan gives an analysis of this treatise on the Ten Commandments, with extracts from the work, illustrative of its spirit.—*Life of Wycliffe*, vol. I., pp. 303-314.



ecclesiastical grievances under which the kingdom was then suffering.<sup>1</sup>

In the chapter preceding this, a brief sketch has been given of some of the prominent abuses to which the English nation was for a long time subject; by which the wealth of the kingdom was absorbed by the clergy—mendicant and regular—or drained off by the pope. These abuses had continued, despite of complaints, and protests, and temporary resistance. There had long been gathering in the breasts of the people, a spirit of opposition to the tyranny of Rome. This with difficulty had been kept under, by the united power of the throne and the clergy. England had now (in 1374) been ruled for more than forty years by one of her most accomplished and popular monarchs. Edward III., though guilty of many arbitrary acts of government, had the wisdom, or the policy, to consult the opinions and wishes of his subjects more than any one of his predecessors. He was a hero and a conqueror; and, as such, had acquired great applause and influence in that semi-barbarous age. His numerous warlike expeditions compelled him to call frequently for supplies from his parliaments; and his good sense, or his necessities, induced him to yield more to their pleasure, in granting privileges, and immunities, and protections to the people, than had been common previous to his time. The authority of the Great Charter was so often confirmed during his reign, that it became immovably fixed as a limitation of the royal power. The king was made to feel that there was a power *under* the throne, if not above it, whose heavings were not to

be despised nor disregarded with impunity. The people, for whose benefit all government, civil and ecclesiastical, should be administered, but who had hitherto been least regarded in its administration; who had been trampled upon by their princes and nobles, and worst of all by their clergy, began now to rear their heads and raise their indignant voices.

With such teachers as John Wickliffe and his disciples, the English people were likely to understand something of their ecclesiastical rights, and to assert them with more courage and success than ever before. The people moved parliament, and the parliament moved the king—himself no-wise unfavorably disposed—to inquire into the ecclesiastical abuses by which the pope and his creatures were eating out the vitals of the kingdom. The result of this inquiry was the discovery that more than one half of the landed property of the kingdom was in the hands of a corrupt and indolent clergy; that many of the most lucrative benefices were in the possession of foreigners, and some of them but boys, who knew not the language of the country, nor had even so much as set foot on English soil; that the pope's collector and receiver of Peter's pence, who kept "an house in London, with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, transported yearly to the pope twenty thousand marks, and most commonly more;" that other foreign dignitaries, holding ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom, though residing in Rome, received yearly an equal, or greater sum (twenty thousand marks) for their sinecures; and finally, "that the tax paid to the pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities, [did] amount to *five-fold* as much as the tax of all the profits, as appertained to the king, by the year, of his whole realm."<sup>2</sup>

Such were some of the results of the inquiry set on foot by the parliament in-

<sup>1</sup> See an account of these grievances, and of the abortive embassy of Wickliffe and his associates to the pope, then at Avignon, in *Vaughan*, vol. i., ch. 4. A summary of the complaints against the papal court, urged by the several parliaments of Edward III., may be found in *Fox*, bk. v., A. D. 1376. This summary the martyrologist thus quaintly concludes: "Whereby it may appear, that it was not for nothing that the Italians and other foreigners used to call Englishmen—*good asses*; for they bear all burdens that were laid upon them."

<sup>2</sup> *Fox*, bk. v., A. D. 1376; *Vaughan*, vol. i., ch. 4, particularly pp. 332-335; *Cotton's Abridg.* in *Henry's Eng.*, vol. viii., 66.

to the ecclesiastical abuses of that age. Wickliffe was one of the commissioners chosen by parliament to lay these complaints before the court of Rome.

The conference with the pope was appointed at Bruges, a large city of Austria. Thither the English commissioners repaired. They soon found, however, that they had brought their wares to a glutted market. Ecclesiastical abuses were things little regarded by the Roman traders. It was like carrying coals to New Castle, to carry their budget of complaints to Bruges. The mission was, nevertheless, attended with one advantage—it forced wide open the eyes of the Reformer; he no longer saw “men as trees walking;” but he beheld, as with open vision, the full grown *Man of Sin*, the Antichrist of the latter days. On his return to England, Wickliffe openly denounced “His Holiness,” as “*the most cursed of clippers, and purse kervers*” (*purse cutters*); and made the kingdom ring with his descriptions of papal impostures and papal corruptions.

These bold and violent attacks upon the sovereign pontiff and his dissolute clergy were neither unnoticed nor unheeded at Rome. The storm of hierarchal wrath had long been gathering; and its thunders at length began to mutter over the Reformer's head. King Edward was now aged and infirm, and nigh unto death; and Richard II., his grandson and successor, was a minor. The hierarchy, probably deemed this a favorable time to attack the obnoxious heretic. Accordingly, in 1377, Wickliffe was cited to appear before the convocation of the clergy, to answer to the charge of heresy. It was a moment of peril to the Reformer. His judges were his enemies; and without some better protection than their sense of justice would afford, the days of the good man's usefulness, and perhaps of his life, would have been quickly numbered. At this critical juncture, God raised up for his servant a powerful friend and protector, in the person of the duke of Lancaster, commonly known as John of Gaunt,

so called from the place of his birth. He was the third son of Edward III., and uncle to Richard II., and was principal regent of the kingdom during the minority. Henry Percy, earl marshal of England, also befriended Wickliffe. These noblemen bade him be of good cheer; and, for his encouragement and protection, attended him in person to the house of convocation. Immediately on the entrance of the party, a quarrel commenced between the high-blooded Percy and the bishop of London; which, from words had well-nigh come to blows. This personal quarrel between my lord clerical and my lord secular so disturbed the proceedings of the convocation, that it soon broke up in confusion, and its victim escaped untouched.

During the same year (1377), parliament called on Wickliffe to give his judgment on the question:—“Whether the kingdom of England, on an eminent necessity of its own defence, might lawfully detain the treasure of the kingdom, that it might not be carried out of the land; although the lord pope required it, on pain of censures, and by virtue of the obedience due to him?” This question, so illustrative of the exorbitance of the pope and of the rising spirit of the nation, Wickliffe answered boldly in the affirmative.<sup>1</sup>

These repeated good offices for his country, though they rendered the Reformer eminently popular in England, were treasuring up wrath for him in Rome. Before the close of the year 1377, the thunders of the Church were again pealing over his head. No less than four bulls were let loose by the pope against “the audacious innovator.” In these instruments “His Holiness” laments and denounces “the pernicious heresy” and the “detestable insanity” which had induced “John Wickliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth and professor of the sacred page (it were well if he were not a master of errors), to spread abroad

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan, vol. I., pp. 342-347.; *Fasciculi*, 268-271.

opinions utterly subversive of the church; and ordered *secret* inquiry to be made into the matters charged against him, and if found true, the heretic to be immediately seized, and imprisoned, and detained "until further directions should be received." Three of these papal bulls were addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who cordially reciprocated the *dolors* of His Holiness, and eagerly desired to glut their malice upon the impudent reformer. But the fourth bull, addressed to the university of Oxford, met with a very cold reception. A fifth bull, or rather letter, was addressed to the king of England, soliciting his aid in suppressing the doctrines of Wickliffe; which are described as opposed to the existence of the church, and to all the forms of civil authority.<sup>1</sup>

The zeal of the primate soon prepared another inquisitorial court to try the heretic; and Wickliffe was summoned to Lambeth chapel, to give account of himself to the ecclesiastical powers. The Londoners, who were now "deeply infected by the heresy of Wickliffe"—and who, Walsingham affirms, were nearly all Lollards—getting wind of what was going on, surrounded the chapel of the archbishop, and gave such demonstrations of interest in the defender of the people's rights, as materially to disturb the equanimity of the papal conclave. To add to their discomfort, in the midst of their deliberations a messenger arrived from the court, positively forbidding them to proceed to any definite sentence against Wickliffe. Thus, a second time, was the prey delivered from the jaws of the devourer.

These threatening dangers and narrow escapes rather inflamed than cooled the ardor of the Reformer. He boldly advocated a thorough reform of the church; and declared his willingness to suffer, and die, if necessary, in order to promote this desirable end.

The death of pope Gregory XI., which occurred the next year, 1378, and the notorious papal schism occasioned by the election of two popes as successors to Gregory, saved Wickliffe for some time from further molestation. Their Holinesses were too much occupied in forging and fulminating thunderbolts against each other, to pay much attention to the English heretic. This interval of rest from persecution was diligently employed by Wickliffe in writing and circulating tracts and books, in which the corruptions of the clergy and the anti-christian character of popery were unsparingly exhibited. But the great work of Wickliffe during these years of rest from papal persecution (1379-1381,) and that which did more than all his other labors to promote the truth, and to open the eyes of the nation to the anti-christian character of the entire hierarchy, and which has handed down to posterity the name of this great man in the brightest halo of glory, was the translation of the entire Bible into the vernacular language of the country.

The enemies of the great Reformer, ancient and modern, very unwillingly admit this; and labor to deprive him of this high honor, or to depreciate the advantages of this great labor of christian love. Thus Dr. Lingard (*Hist. Eng.*, vol. iv., chap. 3, p. 196), asserts, that "several versions of the sacred writings were even then extant"—i. e. at the time Wickliffe made his new translation. He admits, however, that "they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity." And to sustain his assertion, he quotes Sir Thomas More's *Dialogues*, iii., 14. But Sir Thomas—who was not born until about a hundred years after Wickliffe's death—is by no means unexceptionable authority. His object in making the assertion, however honest he may have been in his belief of its truth, was precisely the same as that of Lingard in repeating the assertion, viz: to screen the Romish Church from the scandal and the

<sup>1</sup> *Vaughan*, vol. i., ch. 5., partie. pp. 352-356. The bulls and the epistle to the king may be found in the *Appendix to Vaughan*, vol. i., pp. 417-426. See also *Wilkins' Concilia*, vol. iii., pp. 116-118.

crime of withholding God's Word from the people. But this they fail signally to do; for Knighton, a Romish historian who was contemporary with Wickliffe, and who doubtless expresses the current opinion of the churchmen of his times, inveighs bitterly against this rash and presumptuous measure of the great Reformer, in unveiling the mysteries of God's Word to the eyes of the vulgar multitude. He says:—

"Christ delivered his gospel to the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wycliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious to both clergy and laity is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the people, and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines, is made forever common to the laity."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Eventibus*, col. 2, l. 644. To the same effect is the decision of an English council in 1408, with Archbishop Arundel at its head: "The translation of the text of Holy Scriptures out of one tongue into another is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome testifies, because it is not easy to make the verse in all respects the same. Therefore we enact and ordain, that no one henceforth do, by his own authority, translate any text of Holy Scripture into the English tongue, or any other, by way of book or treatise; nor let any such book or treatise now lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe aforesaid, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be read in whole or in part, in public or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication."—*Wilkins' Concilia*, iii., 317. The spirit of this enactment was evidently that of the majority of the clergy in the age of Wickliffe. He describes them as affirming it to be "heresy to speak of the Holy Scriptures in English;" but this is said to be a condemnation of "the Holy Ghost, who first gave the Scriptures in tongues to the apostles of Christ, as it is written, to speak the word in all languages that were ordained of God under heaven."

This question of priority is ably discussed and satisfactorily settled in the Preface to the noble edition of Wickliffe's Bible, published from the University press of Oxford, England. The learned editors of that edition avow their conversion to the belief of Wickliffe's claim to priority over all others, as a translator of the entire Bible into the vernacular of the English nation. This was not their belief when they began their investigations. Influenced by the confident assertions of such men as More, and James, and Usher, they supposed that earlier translations than Wickliffe's had been made. But this opinion they were compelled to abandon after careful original investigation.

John Wickliffe undoubtedly, then, deserves the honor of having given to his country the first translation of the whole Scriptures in the English language. With great personal labor, and by the aid of learned assistants, he wrote out an entire English version of the Sacred Word. Copies of this were multiplied by transcribers—for there was no printing in those days; and the "poor priests," as Wickliffe's preaching disciples were called, scattered them over the kingdom. To the Scriptures the Reformer appealed for the truth of his doctrines; and men were everywhere urged to search the Scriptures and "see if these things were so."

The minions of the hierarchy were in the terrors of death when they saw this light streaming through the land. They hated the light, because their deeds were evil; and they would not come to it, lest their deeds should be reprov'd. Wickliffe was denounced as a sacrilegious wretch, who had presumed to rend the veil from the holy of holies, and expose the secret of God's honor to the unhalloved gaze of the profane multitude. For centuries the reading of the Bible, by the common people, had been prohibited. A needless exercise of papal im-

—*Wicket*. See Vaughan's *Life of Wycliffe*, vol. ii., p. 44; *Wycliffe's Bible*, Preface, p. vi., Oxford, 1850.

piety, to be sure, when the Sacred Treasure was locked up in a language unknown to the mass of the people, and when the scarcity and cost of a single copy was such as to defy the ability of nine hundred and ninety-nine men in a thousand to procure the prohibited book.<sup>1</sup> Still, the prohibition was a fair exhibition of papal principles; and should not be forgotten by the friends of the Bible.

But while the clergy declaimed against the impious version, the "poor priests" multiplied and scattered "the seed of the word; and the poor people, so long doomed to endure "a famine of the word of God," devoured the bread with great avidity: and, like the honey tasted by Jonathan in the wood, it enlightened the eyes of all who partook of it. It enabled them to see, not only the corrupt and anti-christian character of the entire system of popery, to which they had so long been dupes and willing slaves; but it taught them also the corruption of their own natures, and their need of the washing of regeneration. It became to the people of England what it did to the children of Israel, when in the days of Josiah "the Book of the Law" was discovered among the rubbish of the temple, and was brought out and "read in their ears"—the means of an extensive revival of pure religion in the nation.

Wickliffe, profiting by the example of the Man of Sin, reared up numerous preachers of his doctrines, and sent them forth as the mendicant orders had at first gone—or rather as Christ's disciples first went forth—with their staves in their hands and the sacred word in their bosoms, preaching everywhere that men should repent and turn from their vanities, to the worship of the only living and true

God, and to the exercise of faith in the only Saviour of man and Intercessor with God, Jesus Christ the Righteous. And so wonderfully successful were these preachers, that Knighton, a contemporary, tells us, that above one half of the inhabitants of the kingdom in a short time became Lollards, or Wickliffites.

We are now approaching the end of the good man's eventful life. His last days, if his *best* days, were not the most peaceful. Though worn down by incessant labor, and harrassed by opposition and persecution, and admonished by repeated attacks of sickness, he still manifested no disposition to cease from his labors; he seemed resolved to die in the harness. During the last three years of his life, his mind, his tongue—when he could speak—and his pen, were incessantly busy in the great work to which he had consecrated himself—the reform of the church. His search into the Scriptures and into ecclesiastical antiquity opened the eyes of the Reformer; to see more and more of the anti-scriptural character of the entire hierarchal system of those days. He boldly attacked the wealth, and pride, and pomp, and ornaments of the established orders, and his thundering artillery threatened the utter overthrow of the ancient fortress of popery itself.

Hitherto Wickliffe seems to have enjoyed the protection and patronage of the court; and God had used this to keep at bay the bulls of Rome. But now, John of Gaunt openly forsook his old and faithful friend. Le Bas attributes this to the doctrine about this time (1381) advanced by Wickliffe respecting the sacramental symbols, viz., that "the consecrated host we see upon the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of him, but an effectual sign of him; and that transubstantiation, identification, or impanation, rest upon no scriptural ground." A more probable solution of this matter, however, may, I think, be found in the fact that Wickliffe's doctrines were beginning to threaten the *English*, as well as the Romish hier-

<sup>1</sup> Some notion may be formed of the difficulty of getting a copy of the Bible before Wickliffe's translation appeared, from the fact, that although his versions were multiplied beyond any previous precedent, and scattered over every part of the kingdom—yet a copy of his New Testament alone cost from thirty to forty pounds, or from one hundred and thirty-three, to one hundred and seventy-seven dollars, Federal money.—See *London Encyclopædia*, Art. Scriptures.

archy.<sup>1</sup> The duke of Lancaster, the earl marshal of England, and other noblemen were ready to support the Reformer so long as his labors tended to break down the despotic and destructive power of the pope over the kingdom; but when his labors began to threaten a complete reformation of the church, these courtiers were among the first to cry—"Hold! Enough!"

What Wickliffe's ecclesiastical views were, we shall presently consider. For the present, we will pass on to notice the immediate effects of the things to which allusion has just been made.

The protection of the great being withdrawn from the venerable Reformer, the whole pack—

"The little dogs and all;  
Tray, Blanch, and Sweet-heart \* \*  
Mastiff, grey-hound, mongrel, grim,  
Hound, or spaniel, brach, or lym"—

—the pope, the king, the archbishop, the bishops, the mendicants and friars—were immediately in full chase. Their noble game was driven from the covert of Oxford, by order of the king; the archbishop procured the condemnation of his doctrines in a synod of the clergy; the bishops, by "letters mandatory" to their abbots and priors, clergy and ecclesiastical functionaries, required the immediate suppression of the impious and audacious doctrines of the Reformer. In addition to all this, parliament was petitioned to provide a remedy against "the innumerable errors and impieties of the Lollards;" a royal ordinance was surreptitiously obtained by the clergy, empowering the sheriffs of counties to arrest such preachers and their abettors, and to detain them in prison until they should justify themselves according to law and reason of holy church; and, to cap the climax, the pope himself summoned the heretic to appear at Rome, and give account of himself to the vicar of God.<sup>2</sup>

Well might Wickliffe have adopted the words of his Master: "They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion." . . . "Dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me." But amidst the gathering storm the good man labored on. When driven from the university, he found shelter among his affectionate parishioners at Lutterworth. Here he preached and wrote with unflinching boldness and untiring activity. But the servant was doing his last work for his Master. God protected him and preserved his life while he had work for him to do; but, his task finished, he was now to be called home. The incessant labor of thirty years had shattered the earthly tabernacle, and brought upon the faithful laborer a premature old age; and finally, produced a paralysis of all his powers, which terminated his invaluable life on the 31st of December, Anno Domini 1384. When the summons came, he was where a soldier would always choose to die—at his post. He fell as a warrior would wish, on the field of battle, sword in hand. He was in his church, administering the sacrament, when a paralytic shock deprived him of speech and motion. He lingered two days; and then, as we have the best reason to believe, slept in Jesus. "Admirable," exclaims the quaint old historian, Fuller, "that a hare so often hunted, with so many packs of dogs, should die, at last, quietly sitting in his form."<sup>3</sup>

Thus died John Wickliffe, the most remarkable man of his age, and one of the most distinguished reformers of any age. His name and works have long been the subjects of the most unqualified abuse by the violent papist; and of the semi-hearty praise of the devoted churchman.<sup>4</sup> The Congregational Dissenter,

<sup>3</sup> Chh. Hist., bk. iv., § 23.

<sup>1</sup> See a valuable article upon "Congregational Dissenters," in the *London and Westminster Review* for October, 1837. American Ed., vol. iv., No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Wilkins' Concilia*, iii., pp. 152-172.

<sup>4</sup> I refer to such men as Mr. Milner, whose extended notice of Wickliffe's life and labors is open to many objections, and in some points is manifestly unjust and injurious to the memory of the Reformer. In reading Milner's account, one is almost provoked to



while he admits that Wickliffe was subject to human infirmities, and like other men liable to error; that the truth only gradually opened upon his mind; and that, even to his death, some of the shreds of popery may have clung around him;—while, I say, he admits all this, still must he revere John Wickliffe as “*the modern discoverer of the principles of Congregational Dissent.*”

#### ECCELESIASTICAL OPINIONS OF WICKLIFFE.

Having claimed Wickliffe as a remote ancestor of the Congregational denomination, it will be expected that I give more fully than has yet been done, the grounds on which this claim rests.<sup>1</sup>

1. The prominent doctrine of Wickliffe's creed, which allies him to modern Congregationalists is—the *all-sufficiency of the Scriptures*.

His habit of “*postillating*,” or expounding a portion of Scripture to his parishioners on the sabbath; instead of “*declaring*,” or preaching a sermon from a single text, or uttering an oration upon a particular subject—is a decisive evidence of his high regard for the Scriptures. His translation of the Bible into English, is a still stronger evidence of his veneration for the inspired writings. Add to the above, the Reformer's own words upon this important point.

In a statement of his opinions, addressed to a Synod assembled at Lambeth, “on the thirtieth court day,” 1378, in say—He damns Wickliffe with faint praise. Prof. Le Bas' work is a very different affair; he corrects “the historian of the Church” in several particulars; he might have done more.

Coillier's mode of treating Wickliffe gives one the impression that he would willingly say less in Wickliffe's favor, and more against him, if he could honestly.

<sup>1</sup>In drawing up the following summary of Wickliffe's ecclesiastical opinions, in addition to the authorities so often quoted in preceding pages, I have availed myself of a valuable work, entitled “*Tracts and Treatises of John De Wycliffe, D.D.*,” with Selections and Translations from his Manuscripts and Latin Works. Edited by The Wycliffe Society; with an Introductory Memoir, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, President of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. London: 1845,” 8vo. pp. xciv. and 332.

obedience to a bull from the pope, dated June 11th, 1377, and addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, directing them to commit Wickliffe to prison, and obtain secretly whatever they could of his principles and opinions, and secretly to transmit the same to Rome—the Reformer thus speaks of his principles, and particularly of his attachment to the “law of Christ,” “the sacred Scriptures:”

“In the first place, I protest publicly, that I resolve with my whole heart, and by the grace of God, to be a sincere Christian; and while life shall last, to profess and defend the *Law of Christ*, as far as I have power. If through ignorance, or from any other cause, I shall fail in this determination, I ask forgiveness of God, and retracting the error, submit with humility to the correction of the church.

In my conclusions, I have followed the *sacred Scriptures* and the holy doctors, both in their meaning and in their modes of expression; this I am willing to shew: but should it be proved that such conclusions are opposed to the faith, I am prepared very willingly to retract them.”

Such confessions are not unfrequent in the Reformer's writings. It is thus he concludes a passage in which he denies the necessity of priestly absolution: “If any man would show more plainly this sentence, by the *Law of God*, I would meekly assent thereto. And if any man prove this to be false, or against the Law of God, that I have now said herein, I would meekly revoke it.”<sup>2</sup>

In another part of his statement of his principles, he says: “God forbid, that truth should be condemned by the church of Christ because it sounds unpleasantly in the ear of the guilty or the ignorant; for then the entire *faith of the Scriptures* will be exposed to condemnation.”

In one of his treatises, Wickliffe gives the following as the signs of freedom from the guilt of mortal sin: “When a man will gladly and willingly hear the *Word*

<sup>2</sup> Vaughan, vol. i., p. 362, note 7.

of God; when he knoweth himself prepared to do good works; when he is prepared to flee sin; when a man can be sorry for his sins."<sup>1</sup>

In this same statement of his views, Wicliffe says in reference to "the power of the keys": "We ought to believe, that then only does a christian priest bind or loose, when he simply obeys the Law of Christ; because it is not lawful for him to bind or loose, but in virtue of that law; and by consequence, not unless it be in conformity to it."<sup>2</sup>

These extracts show, in connection with others hereafter to be given, most conclusively, that the great Reformer regarded the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, not only as God's Word, but as literally an *all-sufficient guide* in matters of ecclesiastical order and practice, as well as of religious faith and duty; and that he considered nothing absolutely binding on his conscience, except what the Scriptures commanded, or at least authorized or justified.

In the maintenance of this great principle, Wicliffe out-went not only his own age, but the great majority of churchmen of subsequent ages, even to the present day. It was, however, for this great principle that the Paulicians of the tenth century and subsequently, labored, and suffered, and died; as have other good men, in all ages of the church since apostolic times. It is, too, the fundamental principle which the Independents and Congregationalists of England and America for centuries past have professed, and in behalf of which they have argued, and labored, and suffered; and which they hope yet to see, under the smile of Him by whose inspiration all Scripture was originally given, pervade and bless the whole christian world.

2. A second principle of Congregationalism recognized by Wicliffe, and abundantly developed in his voluminous writings, is the necessity of piety to true church-membership.

He defines the church to be "a congregation of just men for whom Christ shed his blood"—"an assembly of predestinated persons"—"Christ's members, that he hath ordained to bliss;" and he calls them "true men"—"just men"—"religious men"—"devout men;" and says, "no man can possibly know himself to be a member of the church of Christ except as he is enabled to live a holy life."

Take the following extracts from his writings as a sample of his teachings on this head. In a work entitled *The Great Sentence of the Curse Expounded*, he thus defines a christian church: "Christian men, taught in God's law, call holy church, the congregation of just men, for whom Jesus Christ shed his blood; and they do not so call stones, and timber, and earthly rubbish, which antichrist's clerks magnify more than God's righteousness, and the souls of Christian men."<sup>3</sup> And in another place he says, the church consists not of the clergy, "but of all men and women who shall be saved."<sup>4</sup>

He derides the folly of regarding the church as the spouse of Christ, and supposing that the offspring of Belial can be among its members. "In the present world, no man can possibly know himself to be a member of the church of Christ except as he is enabled to live a holy life; few, if any, being so taught of God as to know their ordination to the bliss of heaven."

In another work entitled *De Episcoporum Erroribus*, Wicliffe says: "When men speak of holy church, they understand anon prelates and priests, monks and canons and friars, and all men who have crowns [tonsures—referring to the manner of wearing the hair peculiar to ecclesiastical persons] though they live never so cursedly against God's law; and they call not secular men, of holy church, though they live never so truly after God's law, and in perfect charity. Nevertheless, all who shall be saved in bliss of heaven are members of holy church, and no more."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan, vol. 1., p. 372, note. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* v. 1., p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Facts, &c.*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 45.

In the maintenance of this doctrine, the Reformer of the fourteenth century was but the forerunner of those great and good men who, in subsequent centuries, separated themselves from the impure fellowship of the church of England, banished themselves to a foreign land, and finally buried themselves in a distant wilderness, that they might, unmolested, erect a tabernacle for God's service according to the pattern furnished to them in the sacred revelations of His holy mind and will.

3. Another ecclesiastical topic on which Wicliffe symbolized somewhat with Congregationalists, relates to the *christian ministry*.

The hierarchy and its officials he rejected entirely—popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, etc., etc. His idea of a christian minister was, that he should be simply a preacher of the gospel. And there were few things against which he protested more vehemently, than the lordly power and worldly character of the higher orders of the hierarchy. In fact, the only preëminence which he willingly recognized in the ministry of the church was, that of eminent holiness and devotion to the cause of Christ. In conformity with this general view of the nature and work of the christian ministry, Wicliffe sent forth, without license or leave from pope or prelate, his "poor priests," as they were called, to preach the gospel in the market places, in the fields, the highways, or wherever they could find hearers; thus conforming, as nearly as might be, to the primitive example of Christ and his apostles.

In his work *De Ecclesiæ Dominio*, Wicliffe, after describing the earnest and successful labors of the apostles among Jews and Gentiles, continues: "And thus the apostles of Christ filled the world with God's grace. But long after, as chroniclers say, the fiend had envy thereat, and by Silvester, priest of Rome, he brought in a new guile, and moved the Emperor of

Rome to endow the church. When the life of the priest was thus changed, his name was changed. He was not called the apostle, or the disciple of Christ, but he was called the pope, and head of all holy church: and afterwards came other names, by the feigning of hypocrites, so that some say he is even with the man-head of Christ, and highest vicar of Christ, to do on earth whatever he liketh; and some flourish other names, and say that he is most blessed father—because hereof cometh benefices which the priest giveth to men; for Simon Magus never more labored in simony than do these priests."<sup>1</sup>

Though in theory he admits of two orders in the ministry—presbyters and deacons, utterly repudiating the third, or episcopal order—yet in point of fact, he seems to recognize but one order. A priest, he maintains, is as competent to the ministry of every sacrament as a bishop; for "the power of priesthood is a matter which may not exist, in a degree, either more or less." And the distinction between what were termed the superior and the inferior clergy, he insists is simply a difference of jurisdiction, and not a difference of character.<sup>2</sup> And though he admits of a distinction of order between bishops and deacons, he yet speaks of deacons, and the reason for their appointment in the apostolic churches, very much as every Congregationalist would.

4. Wicliffe's views respecting the order, government, and worship of the church, harmonize in several other particulars with those of Congregationalists.

For example: he maintained that Christ is the only head of the church—the pope of Rome being Antichrist; that christian men should practice and teach only the laws of Christ—the laws of Antichrist being contrary in every respect to the laws and the office of Christ; that all human traditions are superfluous and sinful, and that mystical and significant ceremonies

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts, &c.*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> See Vaughan, vol. i., p. 373.

in religious worship are unlawful; episcopal confirmation he rejected; set forms of prayer he disapproved of; and even the imposition of hands in ordination, it is said, he disallowed. He did not believe that any other license to preach the gospel was necessary than a conformity of life and character to Christ's example, and an inward call to the work; and it was charged, that he even went so far in his notions of christian freedom, as to admit that women might lawfully preach. To all the clergy he allowed the privilege of marriage; the right to preach wherever they pleased (as his poor priests did), and the power to ordain others to the same work. He gave to the body of the church the right to call to account their clergy, and even the pope himself, for unchristian deportment. In short, taking the New Testament for his unerring and all-sufficient guide in all matters of church interest, Wicliffe regarded as erroneous, or entirely non-essential, whatever in the order, government, and worship of the church had not scriptural warrant; and in regard to all such matters, allowed the largest liberty which either the teaching or example of Christ and his apostles would justify.

Wicliffe seems to have taken very nearly the same view of excommunication, as a church censure, which Congregationalists do. He held that no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to be excommunicated of God. While modern Congregationalists hold that no man should be cast out from the church, as "a heathen man and publican," who has not first forfeited his standing as a christian man.

In regard to the maintenance of the clergy, Wicliffe agreed with modern Congregationalists, that it should be by the voluntary contributions of the faithful. He insisted that the clergy should receive but a very moderate support from their parishioners, saying: "Priests owen [ought] to hold them [selves] paid with food and hiling [clothing] as St. Paul

teachete."<sup>1</sup> And even this moderate stipend, he argued, should be continued only so long as the priests were faithful to their ministerial duties. And what he taught in these respects, he practiced. He lived in a very humble style among his parishioners; wearing, for the most part, a coarse woollen gown, and travelling about his parish staff in hand and barefooted.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to human traditions and divers religious rites and ceremonies introduced by the hierarchy, and on the right of private judgment, Wicliffe's language is quite explicit:

In commenting, in one of his sermons, on the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iv: 1-3, "To me it is for the least thing that I be judged of you, or else of man's judgment, but I judge not myself," the preacher adds: "Paul chargeeth not the judgment of men, whether priests or lords; but the truth of Holy Writ, which is the will of the first judge, was enough for him until doomsday. And thus stewards of the church should not judge wickedly by their own will, but merely after God's law, in things of which they are certain. But the laws and judgments which Antichrist hath brought in, putting God's law behind, mar too much the church of Christ. For to the stewards of the church,

<sup>1</sup> *Why Poor Priests have no Benefices*, chap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Wicliffe was the contemporary and personal friend of the father of English Poetry, Geoffrey Chaucer. The poet is said to have been a Wicliffite, and to have suffered for his principles. Hippsley, in his *Chapters on Early English Literature*, has collected sundry particulars respecting this friendship between the Poet and the Reformer. Chaucer's *Court of Love* was dedicated to Anne, the first queen of Richard II.; and the poet was one to whom the protection of the king was extended.—In the *Vision of William*, the characteristics of a Lollard parson are described under the allegorical character of *Dobet*—do better:

"He is lowe as a lambe, and lovelich of speech,  
And helpeth all men after that hem medith."

"From a subsequent expression—'and hath rendrid (translated) the Bible'—one would be inclined to suppose Wicliffe himself here intended."—"It has been imagined that the poet, under the character of a Loller (for so he is called by the Host in the *Shipman's Prologue*), has portrayed his contemporary, and political associate, Wicliffe, as Rector of Lutterworth."

the laws of Antichrist are rules to make officers therein, and to condemn the laity."<sup>1</sup>

In other places he speaks on this wise: "In the sacrament of baptism, in that of confirmation, and in the rest, hath Antichrist invented unauthorized ceremonies; and to the burden of the church, without warrant from Scripture, hath heaped them on subjected believers."<sup>2</sup>

And again: "We ought to know that Christ will not fail in any ordinance or law sufficient for his church; and whosoever reverses this sentence blasphemeth against Christ."<sup>3</sup>

Of the episcopal rite of confirmation, Wickliffe thus expresses himself: "This sacrament does not appear to me necessarily to the believer's salvation, nor do I believe that those who pretend to confirm youths, do rightly confirm them, nor that this sacrament should be restricted exclusively to the Cæsarean bishops. Further, I think it would be more devout, and more in accordance with Scripture language, to say that our bishops do not confer the Holy Ghost, or confirm the previous bestowment of the Holy Ghost, for such expressions, however glossed by our doctors, are still liable, if once admitted, to misconstruction, while, at the same time, they want authority to sanction them." Hence some are of opinion that this slight and brief confirmation, performed by the bishop, with the rites which are attached to it, with so much solemnity, was introduced at the suggestion of the devil, with a view to delude the people concerning the faith of the church, and to give more credence to the solemnity, or as to the necessity of bishops. For according to the common opinion, while our bishops administer this sacrament of confirmation, retaining it in common with many other things exclusively in their own hands; and while there is no salvation for believers apart from the reception of these solemn sacraments, how could the church

preserve her station uninjured without such bishop? But one thing appears to hold, in the greater part, that for any bishop whatever, baptizing in such a way, to bestow the Holy Spirit, according to God's covenant, implies a blasphemy. But I leave to others the more subtle discussion of this topic."<sup>4</sup>

On the right and duty of men to preach without episcopal license, the Reformer holds the following plain and bold language: "Worldly prelates command that no man should preach the gospel, but according to their will and limitation, and forbid men to hear the gospel on pain of the great curse. But Satan, in his own person, durst never do so much despite to Christ and his gospel, for he alleged holy writ in tempting Christ, and thereby would have pursued his intent."

One of the earliest series of articles gathered from Wickliffe's sermons, and condemned by the pope and cardinals as erroneous or heretical, was made about A. D. 1377, and was as follows:—"That the Holy Eucharist, after consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively.—That the Church of Rome is not head of all churches, more than any other church is: Nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ, than any other apostle hath.—That the Pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the Church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.—If God be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending *habitualiter*.—If any temporal lord do know the church so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.—That all the Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every christian man here, without any other rule.—That all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the Gospel, than doth the white color to the wall.—That neither the pope, nor any other prelate

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts*, &c., p. 82, 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Trilogus*, bk. iv., 18, in *Tracts*, &c., p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Tracts*, &c., p. 73, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Tracts and Treatises*, p. 163.

of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors."<sup>1</sup>

The following "conclusions" were exhibited, among others, in the convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, 1378-9, as among Wickliffe's errors:

"A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate of himself.

"No man ought, but in God's cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any ecclesiastical censure.

"An ecclesiastical minister, and also the bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the church be accused, either of the clergy or of the laity."<sup>2</sup>

The veriest Idiot could scarcely exceed this.

Harsfield, a bitter Romanist of the sixteenth century, (*Hist. of Wickliffe*, p. 674) thus describes the Reformer's views of a liturgy: "He affirms the tying of people to set forms of prayer, is abridging the liberty which God has given us."<sup>3</sup>

His views of ordination, and of the right of good men to preach the Gospel without prelatical license, are thus described by Collier: "He disallows imposition of hands in ordination, and all other signs and ceremonies of an outward call; and maintains that, when the antichristian and insignificant prelates fail to do their duty, our Saviour will give a mission himself, and determine the circumstances of person, time, and manner, as He shall think fit; for but let a man imitate the example of our Saviour, and he need not question his being ordained by Him, though he never received his character from State prelate."<sup>4</sup>

Wickliffe was even accused of giving women the privilege of the priesthood and

the pulpit. And to every priest he granted the liberty of marriage, of preaching where he pleased, and of ordaining others to their own order.<sup>5</sup>

Though I have not been able to discover in Wickliffe's own writings anything to justify the assertion, that he gave to women "the privilege of the priesthood and the pulpit;" yet, in the writings of Walter Brute, a learned layman who embraced Wickliffe's views, and wrote very ably against Romish errors, it is argued that, "in defect of the clergy," women may exercise the action of prayer and administration of sacraments belonging to priests; and referring to the custom received in the popish church for women to baptize, which, saith he, cannot be without the remission of sins, he asks: "Wherefore, seeing that women have power by the pope to remit sin, and to baptize, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lord's Supper, in like case of necessity?"<sup>6</sup>

It is apparent hence, that the Wickliffites gave to women the privileges of the priesthood and the pulpit, only "in defect of the clergy;" only "in case of necessity;" and so it is presumed would any intelligent Congregationalist.

The exposition which has now been given of the ecclesiastical tenets of the Great Reformer of the fourteenth century, must satisfy every reader that, whether right or wrong in his views, John Wickliffe much less resembled a Romanist, or Prelatist, ancient or modern, than a Congregationalist of the apostolic model.

Wickliffe exerted a mighty and extensive influence in preparing the way for the Great Reformation, which took place in England some ages after he had been gathered to his fathers. His writings, many of which were small tracts, were exceedingly voluminous, and were scat-

<sup>1</sup> *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. 1., p. 491: Lond. 1664. By a canon of the synod of Lambeth, A. D.

1216, the English bishops were required to have prisons.—*Henry's England*, vol. viii., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Fox*, vol. 1., p. 693.

<sup>3</sup> *Collier's Ecc. Hist. Great Britain*, vol. iii., p. 153. Lond., 8vo. 1862.

<sup>4</sup> *Ecc. Hist.* vol. iii., p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Collier's Ecc. Hist.* iii., 180-89.

<sup>6</sup> See "Walter Brute's Declaration Concerning the Priesthood," etc., in *Fox*, bk. v., A. D. 1391, vol. 1., p. 566. Also, the letter to Nicholas Hereford, "by a Lollard" (probably Walter Brute), in *Fox*, vol. 1., p. 671.



tered by hundreds all over the kingdom. These breathed into the nation a spirit as adverse to popery as it was favorable to genuine protestantism.<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be questioned, that had Wickliffe been permitted to reform the English church as he wished, he would have laid the axe at the root of the tree. Milner's estimate of the Reformer's notions of "external reformation," seem clearly to intimate his belief of this. He tells us, that Wickliffe would have "erred in the extreme of excess," had he been permitted to carry out his notions of church reform. Le Bas evidently rejoices with trembling, to think what the church of England escaped by not having been reformed by Wickliffe. He says: "Had he succeeded in shaking the established system to pieces, one can scarcely think, without some awful misgivings, of the fabric which, under his hand, might have risen out of the ruins." And the ground of these *awful misgivings* of the good churchman are very clearly exhibited, when he says: "If the reformation of our church had been conducted by Wickliffe, his work, in all probability, *would nearly have anticipated the labors of Calvin*; and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the Protestantism of Geneva." And when he adds, that as one fruit of this reformation—"Episcopal government might have been discarded," one who has contemplated the manifold evils of that "Episcopal government" which the Reformation entailed upon England, can hardly refrain from exclaiming—O that Wickliffe had succeeded in his scriptural labors! And when the professor speaks of another of the *evils* which might have resulted from the execution of Wickliffe's plan of

reformation—"the clergy might have been consigned to a degrading [!] dependence on their flocks"—no good Congregationalist can sympathize at all, with his "awful misgivings." Least of all, could any of the thousands, who for centuries groaned under the oppressive burden of the English national church establishment.

Le Bas further says: "Had Wickliffe flourished in the sixteenth century, it can hardly be imagined that he would have been found under the banners of Cranmer and of Ridley. Their caution, their patience, their moderation, would scarcely have been intelligible to him; and rather than conform to it, he might, perhaps, have been ready, if needful, to perish, in the gainsaying [!] of such men as Knox or Cartwright. At all events, it must plainly be confessed, that there is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer and his poor itinerant priests, and at least the better part of the Puritans, who troubled our Israel in the days of Elizabeth and her successor. The likeness is sufficiently striking, almost to mark him out as their prototype and progenitor; and therefore it is, that every faithful son of the church of England must rejoice with trembling, that the work of her final deliverance was not consigned to him."<sup>2</sup>

The men who are thus sneered at as *gainsayers*, by an English churchman of the nineteenth century, are the very men whom an infidel historian is constrained to honor, as the preservers of the precious spark of English liberty! Yes, and of English protestantism too.

Such was John Wickliffe—in character and in principle—a great man and a good man; a reformer of the purest intentions and of the soundest general principles. The Bible was the lamp by which he sought truth. The Bible was the rod by which he measured everything pertaining to the church. This was the standard to which he would have reduced the outward form and order, and indeed

<sup>1</sup> Fox tells us that no less than *two hundred* volumes of Wickliffe's writings were burned at one time, in 1410, by order of the Church of Rome. And yet, notwithstanding the diligence of the Roman inquisitors, there have come down to our day in manuscript, no less than three hundred of Wickliffe's sermons; and the whole number of volumes of manuscripts of his composition, preserved in the libraries of England and elsewhere, is very large.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Bas' Life of Wickliffe*, p. 325.

the entire polity of the church. Had he succeeded in his reformatory labors, the church of England would have been saved from the taunt of one of her most eloquent statesmen—of having “an Arminian clergy and a Popish liturgy.”

But the time had not then come for the English nation to receive so great a deliverance. Neither indeed has it yet fully come. But the day of her redemption is gradually advancing, and the time of deliverance will yet come.

## AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL DENOMINATIONS.

COMPILED BY REV. ALONZO H. QUINT,

The General Conferences of the METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH meeting but once in four years, no Minutes have been issued since those of the session of 1854. The first General Conference was held in 1834; those subsequent, in the years noted :

Year.	Annual Conf.	Members.
1834	14	26,587
1838	16	27,948
1842	21	53,875
1846	26	63,567
1850	32	64,219
1854	34*	70,018

\* Including one Mission Conference.

In the Minutes of 1854, we find the following table :

Annual Conference Districts.	Stations.	Circs.	Missions.	Itinerant Min. and Preach.	Unsta'd Min. and Preach.	Members.	Houses of Worship.	Parsonages.	Est'd value of Church property.
Maine, . . . . .	—	6	—	10	4	500	1	1	1,800
Boston, . . . . .	13	—	—	11	3	426	13	—	22,100
New York & Vermont, . . . . .	8	17	5	28	33	1,609	37	6	70,000
Onondaga, . . . . .	1	19	3	44	27	1,308	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	11,100
Genesee, . . . . .	1	14	1	18	13	925	9	3	12,100
New Jersey, . . . . .	1	7	2	11	16	702	10	—	8,000
Pennsylvania, . . . . .	—	7	1	8	14	555	5	—	4,100
Pittsburg, . . . . .	8	30	8	59	68	6,066	66	6	121,725
Muskingum, . . . . .	6	29	7	56	66	6,100	126	9	70,855
Ohio, . . . . .	5	26	9	60	70	5,689	91	12	101,250
Michigan, . . . . .	1	19	7	47	28	1,469	6	—	4,800
Indiana, . . . . .	1	11	5	22	24	2,031	25	—	13,000
Wabash, . . . . .	—	8	3	20	17	1,014	10	2	4,925
Illinois, . . . . .	—	14	3	17	26	1,264	17	4	14,500
North Illinois, . . . . .	2	23	—	43	33	1,549	12	15	12,550
South Illinois, . . . . .	—	12	—	15	20	1,264	10	4	3,670
Iowa, . . . . .	—	8	3	19	10	800	1	—	2,000
Maryland, . . . . .	14	28	4	66	74	6,746	165	46	348,000
Virginia, . . . . .	3	12	8	37	25	4,729	51	1	44,750
North Carolina, . . . . .	1	12	3	41	21	5,397	66	—	22,080
South Carolina, . . . . .	—	6	—	9	6	733	10	—	30,000
Tennessee, . . . . .	1	5	3	17	11	1,800	12	—	10,000
West Tennessee, . . . . .	—	4	4	20	10	908	24	—	3,500
Georgia, . . . . .	3	18	2	55	12	3,162	25	1	5,000
Florida, . . . . .	3	—	3	12	1	800	11	—	5,400
Alabama, . . . . .	5	17	2	39	50	4,375	91	2	44,500
Huntsville, . . . . .	—	6	1	9	13	1,000	—	—	—
Mississippi, . . . . .	1	10	3	33	21	2,421	38	—	5,570
Missouri, . . . . .	—	7	2	18	6	1,800	—	—	—
Platt, . . . . .	—	7	6	15	12	650	1	—	1,000
Arkansas, . . . . .	—	10	—	15	11	880	10	—	3,000
Louisiana, . . . . .	—	6	1	13	7	676	20	—	10,000
Texas, . . . . .	—	8	4	22	5	550	—	—	—
Oregon Miss. Conf. . . . .	—	—	—	7	—	120	1	—	1,000
Total, . . . . .	78	405	103	916	767	70,018	982 $\frac{3}{4}$	118	1,009,275

The statistics of the UNIVERSALISTS we obtain from the *Universalist Companion, with an Almanac and Register*. The organization of the denomination is by "State Conventions" in the several States, and a "United States Convention," in which each State or Territorial Convention is represented by one clerical and two lay delegates, and if consisting of fifty societies and clergymen, two clerical and four lay delegates,—with one clerical and two lay delegates for every additional fifty. Local Associations, equivalent to our Conferences, meet in the several States.

	Asso- ciations.	Socie- ties.	Meeting Houses.	Preachers.
Maine.	7	136	116	49
N. H.	5	73	60	24
Vt.	5	82	91	40
Mass.	6	164	152	122
R. I.	..	10	5	3
Conn.	3	26	20	15
N. Y.	16	220	194	107
Penn.	4	46	33	24
Ohio.	12	139	82	47
Mich.	3	15	8	19
Ind.	7	53	28	12
Ill.	7	64	23	64
Wisc.	2	15	5	21
Minn.*	..	1	1	3
Iowa.	3	20	4	28
Mo.*	..	4	2	9
Ky.	2	16	12	17
Tenn.*	..	2	2	2
Md.*	..	4	5	1
Va.*	..	6	5	1
N. C.	..	2	33("free")	4
S. C.	..	1	1	1
Geo.	..	6	12	9
Ala.	..	4	5	5
La.*	..	..	..	2
Miss.*	..	..	2	5
Flor.*	..	1	1	..
Texas,*	..	..	2	5
Calif.*	1	3	..	4
Nebr.*	..	..	..	1
Oreg.*	..	..	..	1
Brit. Prov.	1	15	8	7
TOTAL,	84	1128	912	652

\* These have no State Conventions.

The statistics of the UNITARIANS, as a denomination, have been found, for the past seven or eight years, in the *Unitarian Year Book*; but that publication be-

ing suspended, those of the current year are inserted in the January number of the *Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*. They comprise a list of clergymen, with post-office address, and (in part) occupation; and a list of societies, with their clergymen; and they are admirably calculated to afford arithmetical practice to anybody who desires a summary. Arranging the societies by States, we arrive at the following results:

## SOCIETIES.

	With pastors.	Vacant.	TOTAL.
Maine,	12	3	15
N. H.	14	2	16
Vt.	2	1	3
Mass.	121	38	159
R. I.	3	0	3
Conn.	1	2	3
N. Y.	10	3	13
N. J.	1	1	2
Penn.	1	2	3
Maryland,	2	0	2
D. C.	1	0	1
Ohio,	2	2	4
Ill.	5	4	9
Mich.	2	0	2
Iowa,	1	0	1
Wisc.	1	1	2
Kansas,	1	0	1
Misso.	1	0	1
Ky.	1	0	1
S. C.	1	0	1
Geo.	1	0	1
La.	1	0	1
Calif.	1	0	1
Canada,	1	0	1
TOTAL,	187	59	246

Of the members of churches, (where such organizations are recognized,) as of the attendance of public worship, no statistics are in existence.

The list of clergymen includes 297 names. Of these, 195 are pastors, (eight churches having a double pastorate), 88 are "without charge"; and 14 others are connected with colleges and seminaries, or are ministers "at large," and the like. Of the 88 "without charge," the residences are as follows: Massachusetts, 70; N. H. 3; N. Y., 3; R. I., 2; and Vt., Ohio, Ill., Wisc., Pa., Md., Ky., Ga., Kansas, and unknown, 1 each.

We take the following Summary of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES in the United States, from the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, for 1859 :

DIOCESSES.	Churches and Chapels.	Priests.	Ecclesiastical Institutions.	Male Religious Institutions.	Female Relig. Institutions.	Lit. Inst's for Young Men.	Female Academies.	Asylums, Hospitals, &c.	Population reported.
BALTIMORE.....	98	127	3	2	10	7	9	11	
Charleston.....	20	16	3	..	..	2	2	2	10,000
Erie.....	33	19	..	2	2	..	..	..	19,000
Philadelphia.....	153	142	2	2	3	..	5	6	
Pittsburg.....	74	79	1	4	2	3	2	6	50,000
Richmond.....	17	13	..	..	..	..	2	3	12,000
Savannah.....	10	13	..	..	2	..	..	3	8,000
Wheeling.....	17	9	..	..	2	..	..	2	10,000
Vicariate of Florida.....	6	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	
9	427	420	6	10	21	15	21	34	
CINCINNATI.....	123	112	1	7	8	3	11	7	150,000
Cleveland.....	79	57	..	9	4	1	3	3	
Covington.....	23	20	..	..	..	2	3	..	20,000
Detroit.....	56	43	..	..	..	1	5	1	
Fort Wayne.....	29	28	..	2	3	1	3	4	25,000
Louisville.....	68	70	2	4	3	2	10	4	60,000
Saut Ste. Marie.....	23	16	..	4	2	..	1	..	7,000
Vincennes.....	78	42	1	2	2	..	15	2	
8	479	388	4	25	22	10	51	21	
NEW ORLEANS.....	73	92	1	4	4	1	1	11	
Galveston.....	42	43	..	2	2	1	3	..	
Little Rock.....	16	10	..	..	3	1	3	..	
Mobile.....	12	27	..	2	1	1	3	3	10,000
Natchez.....	14	14	..	1	3	5	3	4	
Natchitoches.....	16	15	..	..	4	1	3	..	
6	173	201	1	9	17	10	16	18	
NEW YORK.....	78	124	1	3	3	4	12	5	
Albany.....	118	84	..	2	3	2	1	10	
Boston.....	85	78	..	1	2	1	4	2	
Brooklyn.....	34	31	..	2	5	..	3	2	
Buffalo.....	102	106	2	9	17	2	9	14	100,000
Burlington.....	25	13	..	..	1	..	1	1	
Hartford.....	52	42	..	..	..	..	3	2	90,000
Newark.....	46	41	..	1	2	1	2	3	
Portland.....	36	25	..	1	1	..	1	..	40,000
9	576	544	3	19	34	10	36	18	
OREGON CITY.....	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Nesqually.....	6	15	..	1	1	1	1	1	
2	13	22	..	1	1	1	1	1	
ST. LOUIS.....	68	120	3	3	14	17	12	25	120,000
Alton.....	64	40	..	1	1	..	1	..	55,000
Chicago.....	73	65	..	2	3	1	2	3	
Dubuque.....	62	24	..	3	6	3	6	1	
Milwaukee.....	189	103	1	3	6	4	13	5	160,000
Nashville.....	14	12	..	1	1	..	1	..	10,000
Santa Fe.....	83	26	1	..	1	..	1	..	83,000
St. Paul.....	31	27	..	2	5	..	4	1	50,000
Vicariate of Kansas, &c.....	15	16	..	2	3	..	..	4	
9	599	463	5	17	40	25	40	39	
SAN FRANCISCO.....	43	51	1	3	5	2	3	3	
Monterey.....	24	19	1	1	1	2	2	3	28,000
2	67	70	2	4	6	4	5	6	
TOTAL.....	2334	2086	21	85	141	75	170	158	

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW CHURCH in the United States does not appear to comprise all the receivers of the "doctrines of the New Jerusalem." It is composed of six Associations, (bounded mainly by State lines,) one "General Society," and five societies not belonging to any Association; these embrace 39 societies, of which, all except Ohio (12 societies) and the 5 isolated societies, report 1,812 members, a number bearing but a very slight proportion to the whole. Other tables in the "Journal of the Fortieth Annual Session," furnish a list of the places where societies exist, and also of towns where are "receivers" of the doctrines, without societies: These we reckon up as follows:

States.	Societies.	Other Places where are "receivers."
Maine,	4	75
New Hampshire,	1	11
Vermont,	0	3
Massachusetts,	15	58
Rhode Island,	1	5
Connecticut,	0	9
New York,	4	20
New Jersey,	0	8
Pennsylvania,	8	10
Delaware,	0	1
Maryland,	0	11
District of Columbia,	1	0
Virginia,	1	10
South Carolina,	1	1
Georgia,	0	8
Alabama,	0	3
Florida,	0	1
Mississippi,	0	2
Louisiana,	0	7
Tennessee,	0	2
Kentucky,	0	7
Ohio,	9	43
Indiana,	1	24
Illinois,	4	65
Michigan,	0 (error)	44
Wisconsin,	0	23
Iowa,	0	12
Minnesota,	0	3
Missouri,	0	5
Kansas,	0	1
Nebraska,	0	1
Arkansas,	0	1
Texas,	0	1
California,	0	3
Total in U. S.,	50	478

In addition to the above, we find the following:

Countries.	Societies.	Other Places, &c.
Canada West,	0	19
New Brunswick,	0	1
West Indies,	0	5

Making a total, in America, of 50 Societies and 503 other places where there are "receivers." Of course any estimate from such data is worthless.

As to ministers, there are in connection with the Convention,—

Ordaining Ministers,	6
Pastors and Missionaries,	25
Licentiates <sup>1</sup> and Ministers,	12
TOTAL,	43

<sup>1</sup> Licensed for one year at a time.

The same document gives a list of Societies in other countries, as follows:

England, Scotland, and Ireland,—	
Connected with Conference,	48
Not " " "	15
	63
Africa,	2
Australia,	1
German States,	9
Prussia,	10
Switzerland,	5
France,	3
Italy,	3
Total in other countries,	95
America,	50
TOTAL,	146

In our last number, being unable to give the statistics of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH for 1858, we copied those for 1857. We now insert the table for the first mentioned year,—and with it the summary for the preceding year, as it appears in the recent issue, although differing in some figures from the table previously printed.

"In the following table, the six Bishops are not counted. Their addition would make the number of travelling preachers, including those on the superannuated list, 2,577. The preachers who are located (77) are not counted; on the other hand, the preachers who were admitted on trial, (224,) and those who were re-admitted,

(58,) are counted among the travelling preachers, though many of them are also reckoned with the local preachers. The members in several charges in the Kentucky Conference, as well as those in China, are not counted, not being officially

reported—these would make the total number of ministers and members about 700,000, and the increase about 44,000." The Pacific figures are not official, though the gross number of ministers and members may be correctly reported.

CONFERENCES.	Trav. Pr's.	Sup'd Pr's.	Local Pr's.	White Members.	White Prob's.	Colored Men's.	Colored Prob's.	Inf'n Men's.	Inf'n Prob's.	Total M's and P's.	In- crease.	De- crease.
1. Kentucky.....	81	8	206	15,889	1848	4592	604	.....	.....	23,228	294	.....
2. Louisville.....	86	11	215	20,001	2067	3745	415	.....	.....	26,540	1364	.....
3. Missouri.....	84	5	152	15,295	2274	1568	347	.....	.....	19,725	1551	.....
4. St. Louis.....	103	10	209	19,696	2378	1529	140	.....	.....	24,065	3256	.....
5. Kansas Mission.....	24	1	11	510	80	18	.....	138	.....	782	17	.....
6. Tennessee.....	190	10	371	31,111	6228	6868	926	.....	.....	45,704	3177	.....
7. Holston.....	110	13	402	38,202	6775	3810	632	200	.....	50,144	2331	.....
8. Memphis.....	152	5	392	28,069	4084	7102	858	.....	.....	40,682	244	.....
9. Mississippi.....	124	7	207	14,276	3881	12,013	3642	.....	.....	34,150	2109	.....
10. Louisiana.....	68	3	112	6632	1786	4091	970	.....	.....	13,612	.....	1104
11. Virginia.....	174	4	198	34,185	3801	6422	589	.....	.....	45,473	4743	.....
12. Western Virginia.....	57	3	75	8096	2241	225	70	.....	.....	10,767	1822	.....
13. North Carolina.....	117	7	192	27,505	3630	11,766	1429	.....	.....	44,946	.....	817
14. South Carolina.....	150	9	207	32,108	4987	39,720	7020	.....	.....	84,201	2891	.....
15. Georgia.....	197	26	579	44,513	9350	20,174	4992	.....	.....	79,831	6424	.....
16. Alabama.....	202	17	536	36,418	9222	18,672	5414	.....	.....	70,481	5958	.....
17. Florida.....	77	5	124	7891	1694	6489	1289	.....	.....	17,569	1193	.....
18. Texas.....	130	7	193	10,043	3747	2547	1116	.....	.....	17,933	3171	.....
19. East Texas.....	80	7	192	10,596	3579	1659	739	.....	.....	16,843	2049	.....
20. Arkansas.....	53	2	159	9556	2522	965	309	.....	.....	13,506	1025	.....
21. Wichita.....	66	3	159	7055	2477	1797	608	.....	.....	12,160	241	.....
22. Indian Mission.....	34	...	55	88	.....	251	.....	2059	577	3894	.....	81
23. Pacific.....	49	...	70	2660	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2779	1050	.....
Total in 1858.....	2408	163	5016	420,795	78,892	155,923	32,104	3297	577	689,175	44,900	1502
Total in 1857.....	2267	167	4907	404,430	62,231	148,525	29,394	3389	467	655,777	.....	.....
Increase.....	141	...	109	16,365	...	7398	2710	92	110	43,398	Net Increase	.....
Decrease.....	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

## SKETCH OF THE BROADWAY CHURCH, NORWICH, CT.,

### WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO VENTILATION.

BY REV. JOHN P. GULLIVER, THE PASTOR.

THE edifice erected for the use of the Broadway (formerly Main St.) Congregational Society in Norwich, Ct., a front view of which is on the opposite page, is built of freestone and bricks, of 94 feet in length by 64 feet in breadth. The spire is 201 feet high from the main floor, entirely of brick. It is upon the slope of a steep hill, the audience-room being nearly on a level with the street in front, while the basement, which is 15 feet high in the clear, is two feet above the surface of the ground in the rear, there being beneath all, a dry and airy cellar, seven feet high in the clear. The audience-room is designed to seat 1,000 persons; the larger lecture-room, 450; the smaller, 125. The

peculiar situation of the church determined the style of the front, it being necessary to give elevation by the use of both a tower and a steeple.

It is hoped that, from the following description, some useful hints may be obtained in regard to the interior arrangement of our churches for purposes of comfort and convenience, and especially upon the subject of the VENTILATION OF CHURCHES.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The description of the ventilating apparatus used in this edifice is somewhat extended for publication in the Congregational Quarterly in order to meet numerous inquiries. The author will request his correspondents to accept this article as a reply to the many letters on the subject which he has found himself unable to answer with satisfactory minuteness.

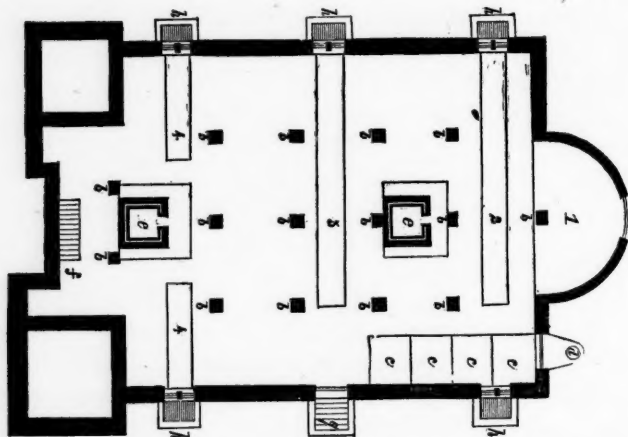


1859.]

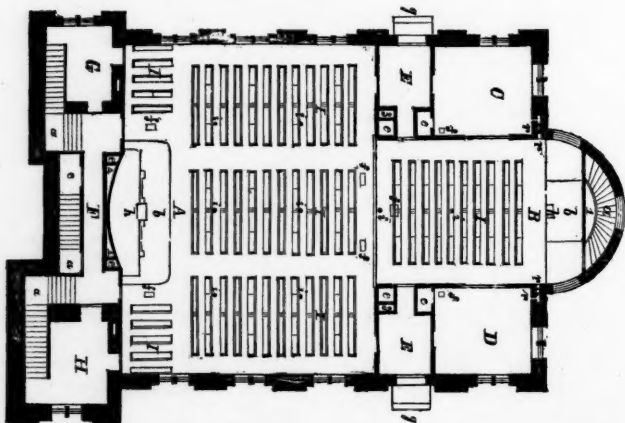
*Sketch of Broadway Church, Norwich, Ct.*

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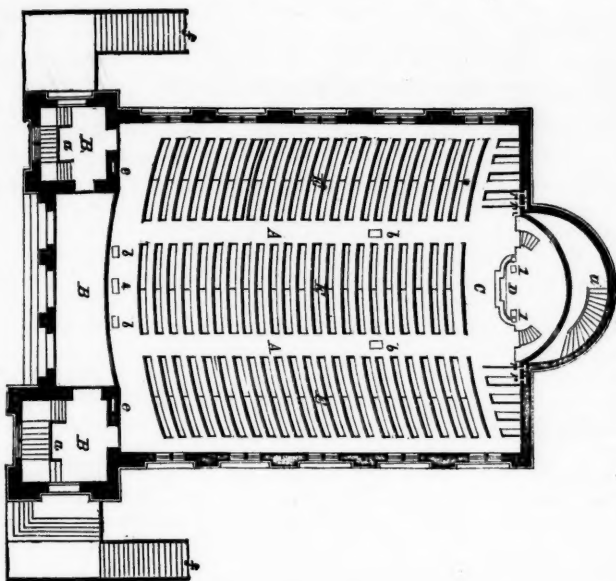




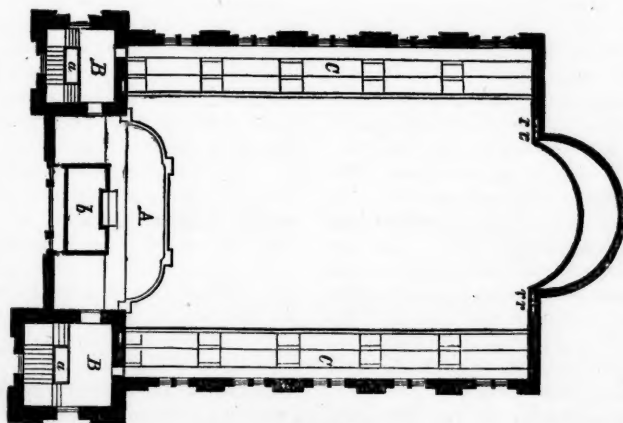
CELLAR.—1, An inclosed space for the supply of cold air for the Lecture Room *B*, and for the pulpit in the Audience Room; the air is received from a window in the rear.—2, 3 and 4, cold air tubes to supply fresh air to the Sabbath School Room *A*, and to the Audience Room *A A*.—*e e*, furnaces.—*b b b*, brick piers.—*c c c*, coal bins.—*a*, coal slide.—*h h h*, windows with areas.—*f*, cellar stairs.



BASEMENT.—*A*, Sabbath School Room.—*B*, Lecture Room partitioned from the Sabbath School Room by sliding pane doors, so that the two rooms can be thrown into one.—*C*, Pastor's Study.—*D*, Ladies' Room.—*E E*, Entries.—*F*, Passage way.—*G*, Infant School Room.—*H*, Sabbath School Library Room.—*I I*, Movable settees, described below.—*a a a*, Stairways.—*b b*, Pulpit platforms.—*c c c*, Closets.—*e e e*, Hot-air flues to audience room.—*f f f f f f*, Hot-air registers.—*g g*, Outside steps.—*h h*, Pulpits.—*i i i i*, Iron columns.—*r r r r*, Ventilating registers for winter use opening into a ventilating chimney, through which the furnace smoke-pipe passes.—1, Cold-air flue leading from 1 on cellar plan, and emptying below the floor of pulpit in Audience Room.—3 3, Cold-air flues leading from 3 on cellar plan, and emptying into the platform upon which the pews stand, from which it is drawn into the room through small perforations in the risers.—4 4, Cold-air flues passing and emptying in a manner similar to 3 3.



AUDIENCE ROOM.—*B B B*, Vestibule.—*C*, Raised platform in front of Pulpit.—*D*, Pulpit.—*a a a*, Stairs.—*b b b b*, Hot-air registers.—*l l*, Cold-air registers for Pulpit opening from *l* on vestry and cellar plans.—*k k*, A register for taking the cold air from the room down to the furnace, for the purpose of heating more quickly, to be closed when the audience assemble.—*r r r r*, Four registers for winter ventilation.



GALLERY.

**THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE BASEMENT.**—The object here kept in view, was to secure a ready expansion and contraction of the accommodations to meet the demands of various occasions. Accordingly, two lecture-rooms were provided, separated by sliding baize doors. Should the larger room become crowded, the smaller can readily be added to it by sliding the doors. The settees in the smaller room are made with swivel backs, so that they can be turned towards either end of the room. The study and ladies room can, in like manner, be united with the small lecture-room. As these three rooms are handsomely carpeted and furnished, a suite of parlors is thus obtained for social purposes. A stair-case communicates from the small lecture-room to a room in the rear of the pulpit above. The pulpits in the lecture-rooms are lighted from the ceiling by means of a circular gas-pipe, punctured on the inside for small jets. This light is under the control of a stop-cock, which is within reach of the speaker. A library-room and infant school-room are provided for in connection with the larger lecture-room. As this room is also used as a Sabbath School room, the settees have been arranged with special reference to the accommodation of classes. They are, for this purpose, divided into sets of three each. The first has a swivel back, so that it can be turned to face the third, which has a stationary back. The second, which has also a stationary back, is divided in the center, as seen in the engraving. These parts are placed across the space between the first and third, thus forming a hollow square. This arrangement allows of numerous variations, according to the size of the class and the taste of the teacher. The seats on each side of the pulpit can be arranged in squares sufficient to accommodate Bible classes of thirty to forty members. The legs of the settees are set in shallow iron rings fastened to the floor. Uniformity of position is thus secured.

#### **ARRANGEMENT OF THE AUDIENCE-**

**ROOM.**—This can be seen at a glance by reference to the engraving. The floor has a rise of fifteen inches from the pulpit to the front. The pulpit consists of a rich balustrade of rose-wood, twenty-one inches high, which encircles the platform between the stairs. In the center is a light desk, the size of the Bible, which rises and falls by weights. Doors from the pulpit open into a space in the rear, from which a speaking tube communicates with the orchestra. A telegraphic apparatus is arranged below the reading desk, within easy reach of the speaker, which communicates with the sexton's pew. It consists of a series of slides, which communicate with similar slides in the sexton's seat, by means of wires which pass under the floor. Beneath these slides are placed printers' cards, which are uncovered by drawing corresponding slides in the pulpit. As this can easily be done without attracting the notice of the audience, much confusion is avoided. A magnificent organ is placed in the orchestra, built by the Messrs. Hook, of Boston, the gift of Gov. W. A. Buckingham, an officer of the Church.

**VENTILATION.**—The apparatus consists of two entirely distinct parts, one for winter ventilation, the other for summer ventilation.

**Winter Ventilation.**—The Winter ventilation is secured by means of four ventiducts, marked *r, r*, upon the plans, surrounding the smoke flue, by the heat of which a steady upward current is established. Registers near the floors of the rooms open into these ventiducts. The smoke flue in this case is of brick and is circular. A much better plan is to use a cast iron smoke flue, which will heat the column of air in the chimney much more quickly and surely. It should terminate six or eight feet from the top of the chimney, when it will pour out its column of smoke and heated air into the column ascending the chimney, thus adding to the upward force. The chimney is thus made a ventiduct, but a small space being used

for a smoke flue. Such chimneys may be seen in the public school houses of Boston and vicinity, in the school houses of Norwich, Ct., the Retreat for the Insane at Hartford, the Reform School at Meriden, and in many public buildings throughout the country. This arrangement secures an upward current whenever the smoke flue is heated by the fire. In the summer season these ventiducts sometimes give a downward current or remain inactive, according to the state of the atmosphere. The registers for winter ventilation are placed near the floors of the rooms, because the hottest and lightest air is the unbreathed air which comes direct from the furnaces, while the coolest and heaviest air is the foul air ejected from the lungs. The registers for the ventiducts should be placed as far as possible from the hot air registers, by which arrangement a constant circulation is kept up with the least possible loss of heat. It will be found that a room can be heated with a hot air furnace much more quickly and economically when the cold air has an opportunity to escape into the ventiduct, than when it is confined. This plan of winter ventilation is very important in close or crowded rooms or such as are to be occupied for many hours in succession, as sleeping apartments, school rooms, &c. Our church edifices are usually so spacious, are occupied for so short a time, and unfortunately are so seldom crowded, that the occasions for using the winter ventilating registers will be comparatively few. As, however, chimneys can be built in this manner at a very slight additional cost, it will generally be considered worth the outlay to furnish these facilities. A remarkable example of what may be accomplished by one of these ventilating chimneys may be seen in the arrangements for warming and ventilating the Retreat for the Insane at Hartford, planned with great skill by Dr. Butler. In this case it was important to place the hot air registers out of the reach of the patients. The hot air is accordingly brought

in at the top of the room, and forced downward through an opening in the floor. So complete is the circulation thus established that the temperature of a room can be raised from 40 to 70 degrees in five minutes. More than this, the exceedingly foul effluvia which ordinarily fills the apartments of the worst patients, and which formerly penetrated to every part of the building, are carried down into the cellar and there emptied into the ventilating chimney. So completely is this accomplished that no stench can be perceived in or about the apartment. A full description of this apparatus may be found in the Twenty-First Annual Report of that institution, made in April, 1855.

*Summer Ventilation.*—The Summer ventilation is secured by a supply of fresh air brought through tubes passing from the cellar windows into the space between the ceiling of the basement and the floor of the audience-room, whence it issues through numerous holes bored in the risers of the slips along the aisles. The foul air is carried off through two ventilators in the ceiling, eight feet in diameter. From these, two tubes, four feet square, communicate with the tower and steeple respectively. The one entering the tower rises perpendicularly twenty feet to the deck. The one entering the steeple rises forty-five feet to a point fourteen feet above the bell-deck. To control the action of these tubes, so as to secure an upward current in all circumstances, heat is applied near the bottom of the perpendicular tubes. Large sheets of tin are suspended so as to guard the sides, and four gas-heaters are placed in the center.

The summer ventilation is much more important than that of winter. In the hot still days of mid-summer, and in the close muggy weather which we often experience in the Spring and Fall, both preachers and hearers suffer severely in most of our churches. The speaker who is forced by the unusual action of the lungs to breathe from six to ten times the ordinary amount of air, is compelled to

inhale immense quantities of carbonic acid gas and other deleterious compounds. The blood cannot find oxygen enough to relieve it of its load of carbon, and in this poisoned state is driven to the excited brain, and to the laboring vocal organs of the speaker. The results are serious and often disastrous. Disease of the head or throat is sure to follow the frequent repetition of such unnatural, we might almost say wicked, use of the bodily organs. The effect upon the audience is not less marked, if it be less injurious. Drowsiness, or at least dullness, a state of mind and body totally incompatible with a profitable attention, is soon produced. An experiment was recently tried in the Corinthian Hall in Rochester, which is most successfully ventilated, by the use of artificial heat, during the delivery of a lecture by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The valves of the ventiducts were closed, and in less than five minutes, fans were produced, and in five minutes more the whole audience became either sleepy or weary, the attention flagged, and all the indications of the presence of *poison* in the air were given. The opening of the ventiducts soon relieved the audience of their stupidity and the experimenters of their doubts. Severe colds are much more frequently contracted in such circumstances, than from exposure to a low temperature or even to draughts of air. The throat and lungs become debilitated and the whole system torpid. On leaving the house, the cold or damp air strikes the body in its enfeebled state, and inflammation is the necessary result.

The great principle which should regulate all our arrangements both for winter and summer ventilation, is this; *make the house breathe as fast as the people breathe who are in it.* No person should be compelled to inhale the air which is loaded with the impurities of his neighbor's lungs. The air should be carried off as fast as it is used. To carry out this principle in the warm weather, when there is no fire in the furnaces, we must attend to various points.

1. To supply a sufficient quantity of fresh air at the floor of the room, so diffused that no draft shall be perceived.

In regard to the quantity, it is difficult to give a general rule. The amount of tube room necessary to supply the waste of air will vary with the rapidity of the current. If powerful means are employed for drawing the air from the ceiling, less tube room will be required than under other circumstances. In the case of the church we are describing, four tubes are employed, each 2 1-2 feet square, beside the large opening below the pulpit. The better plan is to provide air enough to supply a full house in a summer's day without opening the windows, taking care to supply facilities for cutting it off when not wanted. In case the basement is not used for lecture-rooms, a space might be cut off from the top of the cellar, by a tight ceiling, into which the air could be received from windows at both ends of the building, and from which it could be freely drawn into the audience-room. This space being tightly closed in winter, could be filled with warm air from the furnaces, and by this means the floor of the audience-room would be kept at a comfortable temperature for the feet. In some localities, where smoke and dust abound, it may be found expedient to take the air from below the eaves of the building, furring out a broad space for that purpose from the walls. In damp locations there would be an additional reason for this arrangement. The steeple might be used for this purpose, it being remembered that the higher we go, the cooler and purer the air becomes. The air for the British House of Parliament is taken from great height, and is cooled by passing through a subterranean ventiduct. The means thus adopted for the equal *diffusion* of the air as it enters the room, are an iron floor, minutely perforated, covered with a hair carpet, through the interstices of which the air finds its way. The effect is a delicious sense of coolness, without any perceptible



draught. Such experiments are of course too expensive for ordinary church edifices. The plan adopted in the Broadway Church is to introduce the air into the platform upon which the pews stand, which platform is raised about four inches above the level of the aisles. The air is thus admitted through half-inch holes, bored in the rises along the aisles. The hot-air registers are also used for cold air in the summer, the current passing freely through the air-chamber of the furnace. In the pulpit two large registers are placed in the floor on each side of the desk, which the speaker may open or close, as he pleases. This arrangement answers a very good purpose. Any additional facilities for *diffusing* the air more thoroughly at its entrance into the room, would be an improvement. In some cases the base-board along the sides of the room might be perforated in the same manner as the rises in this case.

The two lecture-rooms in this church are supplied with air through perforations in the front of the two pulpit platforms, into which cold-air tubes empty, and by registers opening directly from those tubes as they pass under the floor. The supply is very inadequate, though it gives great relief.

2. The next point to be attended to is the drawing off of the foul air at the top of the room.

It must now be borne in mind that the warmest air in the room is that which passes from the lungs. In the winter, the warmest air is the unbreathed air from the furnaces. In winter, therefore, the foul air must be drawn from the *bottom* of the room; in the summer, from the *top*.

In emptying the room of foul air at the top, several points are important. The capacity of the tubes should be at least equal to that of the supply tubes below; a uniform upward current should be secured, and the force of the current should be under control. In respect to the first point—the capacity of the tubes—it is difficult to give any general rule. A

straight tube will convey more air than one that is bent; a perpendicular tube more than one that is in any part horizontal; a heated tube more than one which is cold. In this church the audience-room is so well cleared that with ordinary audiences, in the hottest weather, there is nothing oppressive in the atmosphere. The contrast between the coolness and airiness of the house and the condition of other houses of worship, is a subject of general remark. It will be perceived that the tubes in this case are very much bent, and run for a long distance in a horizontal direction. These circumstances materially diminish their efficiency, although the great height to which they are carried, in part remedies the evil. Could they have been carried directly from the opening in the ceiling, which is eight feet in diameter, to the roof, and been thus emptied by ejectors of sufficient size, their power would have been quadrupled. The impossibility of ejectors of sufficient size, except at an extravagant cost, prompted the adoption of this plan. An apparatus has since been invented and patented which promises to supply this want. It is simply an arrangement of blinds, so contrived that the force of the wind will close the blinds on the windward side, while by a connecting rod the blinds on the leeward side are at the same moment set open. It is claimed that a downward current is thus made impossible. It is called "Douglass's Patent," Backus & Barston being the agents for Eastern Connecticut. Such an apparatus may be so constructed as to give a pleasing architectural effect. It may thus be safely said, that a room calculated to seat 1,000 persons, may be successfully emptied of air in summer by two tubes, heated as below described, each eight feet in diameter, passing perpendicularly to the roof, and then supplied with air ejectors of equal capacity. Great care will be necessary on the last point, since the capacity of the ejector must be measured not by its size, but by the space furnished by the open blinds.

The next important point is to secure a uniform upward current. This can only be done by the application of some motive power. In certain states of the atmosphere there will be little or no action in the ventiducts; at other times there will be a downward current, which will fall like a cold shower bath upon the heads of the audience. In the French Chamber of Deputies the upward current is established by means of blowers carried by steam. In the British House of Parliament, heat is employed. This latter method will be usually most convenient and economical. In the Corinthian Hall in Rochester, in the Philadelphia High School, and in some other buildings, coal stoves are employed. Shaw, of Boston, has patented a gas stove which seems admirably adapted to the purpose, which, at an expense of a cent and a half an hour, gives a heat equal to a ten-inch cylinder stove. Such a stove, placed in the tube between the ceiling of the audience-room and the roof, would create a very powerful and perfectly uniform upward current. Of course it must be accessible from the attic floor, and the danger of fire must be carefully guarded against.

A defect will be observed in the tubes in this church, the tube in the tower having a much less perpendicular height than the tube in the steeple. The tendency is, of course, to produce a downward current in the shorter tube to feed the upward current in the longer tube. It was hoped that this tendency might be overcome by an increase of heat in the shorter tube—a hope which has not as yet been fully realized. This difficulty will not occur if the tubes are carried out directly through the roof.

The third point mentioned, viz., the control of the force of the upward current, is fully secured by the use of gas, the flow of which can be regulated at pleasure.

The basement rooms in this church are emptied of foul air through the space between the brick wall and the plastering. From this space the air is taken into a

horizontal tube two feet square which passes through the attic under the eaves and communicates with the perpendicular tubes in the tower and steeple. If a wide space is furrowed out, a tolerable ventilation can be secured for a lower story in this way. Tubes communicating directly with the roof would be much more efficacious. All these tubes above and below are closed in winter by slides.

These arrangements for ventilation are not by any means a *model*. They were made under peculiar embarrassments and were imperfect, simply because the means of making them better could not be secured. Imperfect as they are, however, their value can hardly be over estimated. A few hundred dollars devoted to this purpose will do more to give success to the preaching of the word than many thousands or even tens of thousands expended in finical decorations, or in operatic music, or even in pulpit learning and eloquence. The plainest principles of economy justify the outlay. The entire expense of the ventilating apparatus in this church was less than three hundred dollars.<sup>1</sup>

Should any one undertake a similar experiment he should be prepared to encounter several difficulties. First, he will meet with indifference and opposition, and even ridicule, from the mass of those who are to be most benefited. Secondly, not one architect in a hundred will render him the least assistance,—a remark, it should be said, which does *not* apply to the architect of this church.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, builders will be sure to regard the whole thing as a humbug, and if not closely watched, will brick up his flues or floor over his tubes, or do some other careless or malicious thing which will frustrate all his plans. The price of ventilation is *eternal vigilance*!

<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to Dr. L. V. Bell's lecture before the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1843, and to the highly satisfactory experiments of Dr. Butler, at the Retreat for the Insane at Hartford, for a further understanding of these principles.

<sup>2</sup> The architect of the building is Mr. Evan Burdick, of Norwich.

## Books of Interest to Congregationalists.

THE ATONEMENT. *Discourses and Treatises by Edwards, Smalley, Mazy, Emmons, Griffin, Burge, and Weeks. With an Introductory Essay, by Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, Andover, Mass.* Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1859, 8vo., pp. 596.

This compilation embraces three sermons from the younger Jonathan Edwards; two from Dr. Smalley; a discourse from President Mazy, and two sermons from Dr. Emmons,—all designed to illustrate the doctrine of the Atonement. Then follows Dr. Griffin's more stately treatise, "An humble attempt to reconcile the differences of Christians respecting the extent of the Atonement"; Caleb Burge's "Essay on the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement"; and Dr. Weeks' "Dialogue" on the Atonement. It will be seen that, among these names are some of the best theologians and deepest thinkers which our country has produced. The specimens of their works here brought together have been too long before the public to require a critical notice of their contents now. Their republication by a Society whose object is to supply existing demands, is evidence that they have already stood the test of an ordeal more searching and severe than any mere book-notice or review,—they have been read and accepted by the Christian public. There may be slight diversities of judgment among good people in respect to some things here written, as we mark a difference also on minor points among the writers; but that there is a general agreement in these views by Evangelical Christians—certainly here in New England—we have never seen cause to doubt. The question, therefore, as to who should give the book an introduction to the reader, or whether any one should, has not the importance, in our view, which was attached to it, as we learn, by the Board. Each writer must, of course, stand on his own independent merits, and his production pass for just what it is worth in the estimation of a discriminating pub-

lic—the writer of the Introduction and his performance along with the rest. Any other supposition reflects on the reading community, by placing too low an estimate on their capacity for independent thinking. Let us not be understood to express a feeling of indifference, with regard to Prof. Park's Introductory Essay of some seventy pages, on "The Rise of the Edwardean Theory of the Atonement," which the Executive Committee of the Board of Publication adopted. Such a theme, discussed with such ability, can hardly fail to interest intelligent minds, whether published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, or as the first chapter in a volume like this. At the same time many, and perhaps a majority of those for whom the publications of this Society are especially designed, will read this volume with such an absorbing interest in its subject matter, as to care but very little what the so called "Edwardean Theory" is, or whether in fact there be any such theory at all. In their hearts they will thank the Board of Publication, as we do, for putting forth such a precious volume, and we hope will be disposed to give it their generous patronage.

THE LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT *Examined in Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCLVIII., on the Bampton Foundation. By Henry Longueville Mansel, B. D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; tutor and late fellow of St. John's College.* Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo., pp. 364.

The object of this work—a production of much ability,—is to show that human reason is entirely unable to construct a scientific Theology independent of, and superior to, Revelation. The method of argument is, not to employ revelation in the discussion; but to prove, upon philosophical principles, themselves, that the fundamental conceptions, by "Rational Theology," of the First Cause, the Absolute and the Infinite, are self-destructive through the self-contradictions which every such con-

ception involves; that thus we cannot start with any abstract conception of infinite Divinity, and reason down to the human; but must examine our own religious consciousness, which manifests itself within certain specified limits; that the conceptions of this consciousness are such as revelation in general and its several doctrines in particular, agree with; and that in revelation there are no difficulties not previously met with in philosophy. The result is to show the utter worthlessness of "Rational" Theology by its own principles of argument, and to prepare the way for the positive evidence of the truth of the Christian faith. The ridiculous cant of the "Absolute Religion" is, in this work, demolished in a masterly manner.

**ELOQUENCE A VIRTUE; or outlines of a systematic Rhetoric, from the German of Thieremin, by Prof. Shedd.** Andover: W. F. Draper, 1859. 2d edition, revised and enlarged.

That such a mind as that of Prof. Shedd should feel sufficient interest in this treatise to take the trouble of its translation, is, of itself, a guarantee of its substantial excellence, which the study of the work will confirm. It is not a work of surface suggestions, but of thorough and philosophic analysis, and as such, is of great value to the student, and especially to him who habitually addresses men on the most important themes.

**ALFORD'S GREEK TESTAMENT, Vol. I. The Four Gospels.** New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Messrs. Crosby, Nichols & Co.

This will take rank at once here, as it has in England, as the critical edition of the sacred original. In the most condensed and convenient form, it furnishes a complete critical apparatus; showing the discrepancies of the MSS. and furnishing the data for estimating the exact position of every disputed reading and doubtful passage. Brief, yet most useful comment is added on every page, while a very thorough collection of parallel passages is noted in the margin. In the admirable style of this reprint, and the varied excellencies of the work, little seems to be left for further effort in this department. Of course every clergyman should own and master the

book. Three volumes more will complete the design.

**THE PURITAN HYMN AND TUNE BOOK; Designed for Congregational Singing, Social Meetings and the Family.** Third Edition. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, Chauncy Street, 1859. 8vo. pp. 112.

The compilers of this book have aimed to adapt a limited number (366) of choice hymns, to a few (67) "simple, standard, and familiar tunes," such as have received the stamp of general use and popular favor. For vestry and family use, we doubt whether a better compilation has appeared. For the "great congregation," an objection may be raised against the poverty of subjects—or perhaps we should say the narrow range of hymns to which each subject is confined. Tunes that have given utterance to the praises of former generations, are blended with modern favorites, of which we notice a goodly number of Dr. Mason's, without which no compilation at the present day can be regarded as complete. A great improvement in this third edition, is a supplement containing eight pages of Chants,—that early, and for many ages, only method of singing God's praise. The typographical execution of the work leaves little to be desired.

**The First Records of ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIZATION: Their History, by John Wingate Thornton.** Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 8vo., pp. 12.

In a prefatory note the author says, "This tract discloses in our own National possession the twice lost manuscript Records of our origin, of perhaps more pregnant interest to us, as a people, than any document which England holds of her own primitive history." It appears that original documents, which "have not been used by our historians, and lying virtually unknown," have come to light, partly among the transmitted papers of "Nicholas Farrar, a London merchant," who was one of the most active adventurers in colonizing Virginia, and partly in other by-places, which have providentially come into the keeping of our National Congress; and Mr. T. most pertinently asks, "Is it not our National duty to have them appropriately edited and published, with all that

the Archives of England contain respecting both the London and Plymouth Companies." It certainly is; and we hope the subject will not be permitted to subside till this duty is discharged.

A MEMORIAL OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT ANDOVER. Andover: Published by Warren F. Draper. 1859. 8vo. pp. 242.

A full account of the celebration at Andover, August 4th and 5th, 1858, prepared by Rev. J. L. Taylor, the Treasurer of the Institution, and sanctioned by the Trustees. This document is not only an excellent history of that occasion, and, of course, an invaluable historical sketch of the half century then commemorated, but it is full of interest to the general reader. The previous state of theological education, the plans consummated in the union of distinct schools in theology, the lives of the founders, the results of the establishment of the Seminary, are here described in a style which has led us to read every word of the history of services at which it was our privilege to be present. The Commemorative Discourse by Dr. Bacon, and the addresses of Drs. Asa D. Smith, J. S. Clark, Haines, Withington, Dimmick, Rowland, Wm. Adams, Anderson, Badger, Budington, Stearns, Wayland, Blagden, Braman, N. Adams, Howe, Jackson, Stone, and Sears, Professors Brown and Park, Rev. Messrs. Waldo, Couch, Newton, Taylor, and Wolcott, and Messrs. Hubbard and Quincy, here make inestimable additions to our theological history.

ESCHATOLOGY; or the Scripture Doctrine of the Coming of the Lord, the Judgment, and the Resurrection. By Samuel Lee. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Company. 1859. 12mo., pp. 267.

"The coming of the Son of Man" is here explained as the work of the Messiah "in introducing his kingdom into the world, rather than presiding in it." "The Coming of the Lord" is distinguished as the ending of our present mode of existence, and the consequent power "of recognizing Christ." "The Judgment" is regarded, not as a particular time when the whole

"race will be assembled, and judgment passed upon them," but as the constant rewarding of every man according to his works. "The Resurrection" is held to be the succession of the "spiritual body" to the "animal," immediately after death. These views the writer fortifies with an examination of Scripture passages, exhibiting great industry and remarkable clearness of expression, and by the theory that these ideas are in accordance with the established laws of nature. The work is able and valuable, and deserves consideration; if it shakes anybody's faith, it is because their faith needs shaking.

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for April (the July number has not yet made its appearance on our table,) contains I., Dr. Hickok's Philosophy;—II., Three Eras of Revival in the United States;—III., Philological Studies;—IV., On the Descent of Christ into Hell;—V., The Theology of Æschylus;—VI., On the Vedic Doctrine of a Future Life;—VII., Editorial Correspondence;—VIII., Notices of New Publications;—IX., Literary and Theological Intelligence.

Large as the promise is, which this table of contents makes to the reader, it is fully realized. We have often wondered that the conductors of this Quarterly should find themselves able to maintain the high rank which they took in the outset, and even to rise above it, as we think they have, in each succeeding volume. Such articles as the first and fifth, of the present number—not to disparage others—are sufficient to secure, for any periodical that can afford them, a high place in the esteem of the public—and a generous patronage.

CLEVELAND'S COMPENDIUM OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, for sale by Messrs. Shepard, Clark & Brown, is a very fair and faithful resume of the treasures of the young literature which it unfolds. It is done in good taste, and not only without that servility to slavery which disfigures so much of our general writing, but is specially faithful to freedom. For this, and many other reasons, it deserves a large circulation, and will prove the standard in its department.

## Congregational Necrology.

Rev. HENRY WHITE, who died at Garland, Vt., Dec. 7, 1858, was "born Aug. 3, 1790, at Wilbraham, Ms.," as he stated in a letter dated at "St. Albans, [Me.] April 1, 1858." He was son of Dr. Lewis White, a physician in Wilbraham and Longmeadow, Ms., and Susannah (King) White, a native of Wilbraham. "I have not had," he wrote, "the advantages of a collegiate course. I was connected with the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Me., some three years, which I left August 6, 1823. I was ordained over the Congregational Church at Brooks and Jackson, Me., Oct 19, 1825. I have prepared no work for the press, excepting *The Early History of New England*, which has passed through nine editions, and is now published by Sanborn, Carter & Bazin, Boston." Mr. White was installed at Loudon Village, N. H., Feb. 11, 1835, and dismissed Dec. 26, 1838. In 1839 he supplied the Church at Hillsborough Center; and in 1840 received a call at Gilsum, which, however, did not result in a settlement.

Mr. White was "married, Jan 25, 1827, to Esther Sewall, born in Bath, Me., March 29, 1802." They had no children.

Rev. JOHN EDWARD FARWELL, died in Fitchburg, Ms., Dec. 24, 1858.

He was born in Ashby, Ms., Dec. 9, 1809; was the child of religious parents, and bore in after life the marks of his Christian nurture. In early life he was employed in mechanical pursuits, but in 1831, while a member of the Academy at New Ipswich, N. H., became interested in the subject of personal religion; and after a long period of fear and doubt, light broke in, clearly, upon his heart. This was followed by a determination to enter the ministry. In 1836 he graduated at Amherst College, and in 1839 at Andover Theological Seminary, having spent his second theological year at Union Seminary, New York. He devoted himself to the work of Missions, was accepted by the A. B. C. F. M.,

and was ordained at Ashby. But his health failing, after spending a year or more in a vain effort to secure it, he finally received and accepted a call to settle in the ministry at Rochester, N. H. Here he labored with great success and usefulness for nearly ten years. After leaving Rochester he never was settled, though repeatedly urged, but labored in several places, for longer or shorter periods,—the last one being Pelham, N. H., where the disease of which he died, fastened upon him.

"The first impression one would receive of Mr. Farwell," says Rev. J. T. McCollum, in a funeral discourse,—and the writer of this can testify to its truth,—"was that he was a very gentle, meek, and affectionate man. . . . It was not put on for the occasion, but was the natural expression of a genial nature and an affectionate heart." "Another prominent characteristic was decision. . . . He was always a reliable man." "Another was a child-like simplicity and frankness." He "was a man of great industry and perseverance." As a preacher, he was "Scriptural, instructive, interesting and useful." As a Christian, "he was simple, earnest, child-like in his piety. . . . It was with a peaceful and happy spirit that he threw himself on the mercy of God as manifest in Jesus Christ." "His faith stimulated him to action. He did what he could. He used the good judgment and rare foresight with which Providence had endowed him, to the best of his ability, and then threw himself on the invisible arm of the Almighty with as much confidence and apparent satisfaction as if he had seen that arm stretched out to guide, support, and deliver him. He did see it, for the eye of faith has a clearer and more reliable vision than the eye of sense. That arm did support and comfort him. Leaning upon it, calmly, gently, he passed through the dark valley. He seemed to fear no evil, for God was with him, and calmly, 'as to a night's repose,' he laid himself down to die."



Mr. Farwell married, June, 1842, Miss Elizabeth S. Gates, of Ashby; she survives him, together with two sons, the oldest and the youngest of five children.

Rev. THOMAS HALL, who died Feb. 16, 1859, at the residence of his son-in-law, (Mr. Geo. H. Hubbard,) in Guildhall, Vt., was a son of Moody Hall, one of the early settlers of Cornish, N. H., at which place he was born, Jan. 28, 1798. During an extensive revival which occurred there in 1814, he obtained hope in Christ, and made a public profession of religion. He prepared for college at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H., and was graduated at Dartmouth, in 1823.

He read theology with the Rev. Asa Burton, D.D., the distinguished divine and metaphysician, of Thetford, Vt. He preached for some months in Franconia, N. H., and, in June, 1825, was called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Waterford, Vt., where he was ordained, Sept. 28, 1825. Rev. Silas M'Keen, of Bradford, Vt., preached the sermon. In 1828, a powerful revival occurred under his labors, as the fruits of which fifty-seven united with the Church, all but five of them on one Sabbath. During his pastorate at Waterford, the Church was greatly disturbed by Anti-Masonry, which was then raging furiously in Vermont; and he, being a member of the Masonic order, thought it advisable, in 1830, to ask a dismissal. Two councils were called, the second of which granted his request, Nov. 3, 1830.

His next field of labor was Norwich, Vt., where he was installed, Dec. 22d, 1831. Rev. Phineas Cook, of Lebanon, N. H., preached the sermon. Much religious interest existed at Norwich when he was settled there, and a revival was the result. Nineteen were added to the Church during his pastorate, and he was dismissed Oct. 28, 1834. He then returned to Waterford, and resumed labor in his former parish, over which he was re-installed about Dec. 1st, 1835. Here he remained till Jan. 31st, 1844, when he was dismissed. After this he preached, as stated supply, for longer or shorter terms, at Vershire and Guildhall, Vt., and at Bethlehem and Franconia, N. H.

In January, 1858, he commenced preaching alternately at Upper Waterford, Vt. and Dalton, N. H., where he continued till his labors were arrested by sickness and death.

His death was occasioned by bilious-typhoid fever, by which he was attacked while visiting his son-in-law at Guildhall. When danger was first apprehended, he expressed entire resignation to the Lord's will. "I desire," he said, "to have no will of my own, and do not know as I have any, as regards my recovery." He remarked several times that the fear of death had always weighed heavily upon him when in health. On one occasion he said, "I have been all my life-time subject to bondage, through fear of death, but it is not so now." During his whole sickness he was quite free from the delirium which usually accompanies his disease. He desired to see as many of his friends as possible, sent messages to many of the absent ones, and spoke often of the love of Jesus, and of his power to support and save, to those who were present. He seemed at one time to have a glorious view of the blessedness of the heavenly world, which he said afterwards he should never forget, however long he might stay upon the earth. He was able to speak till six or seven hours before his death, and down to the very last hour he gave most gratifying proof, by gestures, &c., that he was supported by Him who has conquered death. To his weeping family he said, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves." He quietly passed to his reward.

He married, May 11th, 1824, Marina Loomis, of Thetford, Vt. (b. July 2, 1804.) They had eight children: 1. Thomas L., born March 17, 1826. 2. Emeline M., b. July 12, 1828, died July 31, 1831. 3. Lois L., born Sept. 25, 1830, married Geo. H. Hubbard, Aug. 24, 1847. 4. 5. Eliza E., born Sept. 5, 1833, married Daniel Clark, March 8, 1855. 6. 7. Cynthia M., born July 1, 1837, died Feb. 1, 1850. 8. Samuel W., born April 6, 1839. The fourth and sixth children died in very early infancy. Mrs. Hall died Feb. 22, 1858, and Mr. Hall married, Dec. 29, 1858, Sarah Helen Richards, of Hanover, N. H., who survives him.

P. H. W.

The earliest known ancestor of Rev. Mr. Hall was WIDOW MARY HALL, of Cambridge, Ms., who received land from that town in 1662; when she united with the Church there, in the same year, her children were all adults,—and two of them, John and Susanna, were then members of the Church in Concord, Ms. She had children, John; Susanna; Stephen, who was of Concord, and afterwards of Stow, of which he was representative in 1689; William, who married, 18, 8 mo., 1658, Sarah Merriam, of Concord, where he lived, and died March 10, 1667; Mary, m. Feb. 26, 1669, Israel Meade; Hannah, m. Dec. 27, 1660, Stephen Francis; and Lydia, who m. 6, 1 mo., 1677-8, Gershom Cutter. WIDOW MARY'S son,

II. JOHN, of Concord, 1658; mar., 2, 4 mo., 1656, Elizabeth Green, daughter of Percival and Ellen Green, of Cambridge; and had ten children, the sixth of which was

III. PERCIVAL, born Feb. 11, 1672, mar. Oct. 18, 1697, Jane Willis, of Woburn; was received to the Church in Cambridge, in full communion, with his wife, Dec. 31, 1699; removed to Sutton; was Deacon, Representative, &c.; and died Dec. 25, 1757. The seventh of their eleven children, viz.,

IV. THOMAS, born in Medford, Aug. 15, 1712; was received to the Church in Sutton in 1735; removed, late in life, to Cornish, N. H., where he died, July 1797. He was twice married; by his second wife, the eighth of his nine children was born, viz.,

V. MOODY, born Feb. 25, 1760, the father of Rev. Thomas, the subject of the above notice. The Hall family with which he was connected is very large. A. H. Q.

Rev. JOY H. FAIRCHILD, who died at South Boston, Ms., Feb. 21, 1859, was born in Guilford, Ct., April 24, 1790, the youngest of eight children; commenced fitting for college when about eighteen, under the care of Rev. Aaron Dutton of Guilford, and about the same time united with the First Church there on profession of faith,—graduated at Yale College in 1813. Immediately upon leaving college, he entered

upon the office of preceptor of the academy at Monson, Ms., and resided in the family of Rev. Dr. Ely, with whom he studied theology; was licensed to preach by the Hampden Association; and was ordained pastor of the church at East Hartford, Ct., June 24, 1816. Asking a dismission in 1827, his connection ended by the action of a mutual Council, August 28; on the 22d of November of the same year he was installed over the Phillips Church, South Boston; received and declined a call to the pastorate of the Federal Street Presbyterian Church at Newburyport in 1833; was dismissed, at his request, June 2, 1842; was installed over the First Church in Exeter, N. H., Sept. 20, 1843; and dismissed by the action of Council, meeting July 24, 1844.

The events which accompanied the latter separation are well known. It is needless to repeat them. It is enough to say that Mr. Fairchild had strong opposers and strong defenders, during the remainder of his life. A new church, the "Payson Church," was organized at South Boston, Aug. 16, 1845, by his friends there, of which, against opposition, he was installed pastor Nov. 19, 1845. In this position he remained until shortly before his death,—when, his health having entirely failed, he resigned his pastoral charge. Mr. Fairchild published "Remarkable Incidents in the Life of Rev. J. H. Fairchild," in 1855, several editions of which were disposed of.

Rev. GAD NEWELL died in Nelson, N. H., Feb. 26, 1859.

He was born in Southington, Ct., Sept. 10, 1763; was the son of Isaac and Rachel (Pomeroy) Newell, and of the fifth generation from Thomas Newell, one of the first settlers of Farmington, Ct., and was the eighth of nine children, and the feeblest of the whole, but outlived them all by many years. Until his sixteenth year he attempted to labor upon the farm, but his health and strength seemed insufficient, and he commenced learning the trade of a saddler; here, however, Providence hedged up his way by the temporary disability of his right hand; and while laid aside from manual labor, he pursued the study of

Latin and Greek under the care of his pastor, Rev. Mr. Robinson. He was thus prepared, unexpectedly, to enter Yale College in his nineteenth year; and in the spring of that year he joined the Freshman Class. There was then progressing there a powerful revival of religion; he became deeply interested; a child of pious parents, of the old Puritan stock and character, it was not without a long and deep experience of "law work" that he at length indulged a Christian hope; and he did not venture to unite with the Church there until he had entered his Junior year. After graduating, in 1785, and teaching for a year in Milford, Ct., he began the study of Theology under the care of Dr. Smalley; he preached his first sermon in the pulpit of Rev. Dr. Upson of Kensington parish, and after officiating in several places, was ordained the second pastor of the church in Nelson (then Packersfield,) June 11, 1794. Of this church he remained the pastor, (assisted from July 12, 1836, to May 5, 1840, by Rev. Josiah Ballard as colleague,) until, on account of the infirmities of age, he was dismissed, at his own request, Sept. 3, 1841. He remained, however at Nelson, the remainder of his days.

"His doctrines," says Rev. Dr. Barstow in a deeply interesting funeral sermon, "were those laid down in the Westminster Assembly's Compend of Christian faith. He was plain and direct in preaching these truths, endeavoring to commend them to every man's conscience, in the sight of God. And God owned his ministry in a signal manner, by keeping you [the people] more united than almost any other parish in the country, and in granting pleasing revivals of religion under his ministry. In 1778 there was a great work of grace here; in 1814 and 1815, 22 were added to the church; in 1827, there was an ingathering of 66; and during his ministry, 321 were added to the church." . . . "He preached occasionally, with animation, till he was ninety years of age." . . . "The very last time he visited me, just as he was entering on his ninety-sixth year, I inquired, 'Do you see any ground to change your views of religious truth?' He answered, most emphatically, 'No! I am more and more

confirmed in them, as the faith once delivered to the saints.'"

Mr. Newell married, June 11, 1795, Miss Sophia Clapp, "a most estimable and godly woman." She died Sept. 12, 1840. They had four children; the first two, sons, lived each but a few weeks; their daughter married Rev. John S. Emerson, and was, with him, a Missionary to the Sandwich Islands; their remaining son, Dr. O. P. Newell, is an esteemed Deacon of the Church in Nelson.

A sermon upon the death of Mr. GILBERT RICHMOND, of Providence, R. I., preached by Rev. Dr. Leavitt, of that city, is published in the *Providence Evening Press* of April 16, 1859. It is a worthy tribute to a faithful and useful Christian. Mr. Richmond, we gather from it, was born in Newport, R. I., in the year 1800; when a lad of thirteen, removed to Bristol to learn the bakers' trade; was hopefully converted at the age of twenty, and united with the Church there; and from that time began to do the Divine will in a life of practical piety. Removing to Providence in 1822, he assisted in building up what, by union, is now the Richmond Street Church (Dr. Leavitt's); with others, held neighborhood prayer-meetings in outskirts of the city; engaged in Mission Sabbath Schools; was active and prominent in the Temperance cause; was busy in Tract operations; and was foremost in matters of Christian benevolence generally. While residing from 1839 to 1840 in New Bedford, he was Deacon of the South Church, and Superintendent of its Sabbath School. In or about 1850, he declined an invitation to become a City Missionary in Lowell, Ms. In 1846 he resumed the duties of Sabbath School Agent for R. I., in which, year by year, he travelled from 600 to 2000 miles annually, near or quite half on foot; gave from 50 to 186 lectures, and gathered schools in waste places, where now are flourishing churches. He died in Providence, March 18, 1859. The union of such consistent piety with such practical benevolence, as described in Dr. Leavitt's sermon, deserves to be commemorated in a more permanent form.

Rev. JOHN RICHARDS, D. D.,<sup>1</sup> was "born of worthy parents, at Farmington, Ct., May 14, 1797. His father was an officer of the Revolution, a good Christian, and an honest man. He was a deacon of the church, held responsible offices in the General and State governments, and was a pattern of the civic and Christian virtues of the old school which has now nearly passed away. An intelligent friend characterized him as the best specimen of the old Puritan stock of New-England that he had known. He commanded his children and his household after him to fear God.

At the age of seventeen, being then a clerk in the neighboring city of Hartford, and intended for mercantile pursuits, our Pastor came under the ministry of the venerable Dr. Strong. He was greatly instructed and moved by the preaching of that distinguished man. His mind became profoundly engaged upon the great doctrines of the gospel, and after many spiritual conflicts his heart was bowed to Christ.

Then he returned to Farmington, resolved upon a different pursuit of life, and said, with his characteristic abrupt and unstudied air: "Father, I want to study, and to preach the gospel." 'Twas said and done. He became, in due time, a student at Yale. During his Junior year, being then more quickened in his religious feelings, he made profession of his faith. He graduated with honor, in 1821; at the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., in 1824; was then for one year, an Agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; from 1827 to 1831, an honored pastor at Woodstock, Vt.; then, till 1837, an associate editor of the Vermont Chronicle; and in 1841 was installed as pastor of the church at Dartmouth College. To speak more particularly of his early history would be to repeat what we learned from his friend and classmate,<sup>2</sup> at his funeral.

In all these relations Dr. Richards was true to his heavenly calling; always an active student, a comprehensive scholar, ranging widely in the fields of knowledge;

thoroughly versed in the subjects of his profession, faithful to Christ, and heartily devoted to the best interests of mankind. No man ever questioned his learning, integrity, or piety. He was never known to sacrifice a righteous principle, to balk an honorable purpose, to shrink from a necessary sacrifice, to betray a trust, to speak evil of his neighbor, to renounce a friend, or hate an enemy, to his dying day."

Characterized by "simplicity, guilelessness and sincerity," "a faithful student of the Bible;" a lover of "the old truths which had grown experimentally into his conscious soul, and had become a part of his inmost life;" "he believed, not because it stood so in reason, but because it was so written, and that to say otherwise would be to set forth himself and not Jesus Christ;" "a loving, genial man in his household and in his social relations;" "a man of God."

"He had largely the confidence of his brethren as a sound theologian, and a liberal scholar. They honored his character, and respected his opinions. He comprehended, in his measure, as few are privileged to do, God's revealed plan of government by Jesus Christ, for he never asked what man imagines, but what God says about it, and that led him meekly and soberly into a wide compass of inquiry. When the mind of God, on any subject was made plain to him, as it usually was, for he searched in the day-light, then he rested, laid up his gains, and went on to larger studies."

He died at Hanover, N. H., (where he was still a pastor,) of congestion of the brain, March 29, 1859.

Rev. WILLIAM D. FLAGG died in Boylston, Ms., May 12th, 1859, aged 30.

At the age of fourteen years, the subject of this notice made a public profession of religion, uniting with the Congregational Church in Boylston, his native town. He early consecrated himself to the service of Christ in the ministry.

He prepared for college under Prof. Nash at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school in Amherst, Ms., at the same time laboring and teaching for support. He graduated at

<sup>1</sup> We take this notice from the excellent sermon by Rev. Dr. Lord, President of Dartmouth College, preached April 3, 1859. To quote all which we should wish to quote would embrace the whole discourse.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. David Greene, of Windsor, Vt.

Amherst College in the class of 1853. After spending about a year in teaching a High School in Holyoke, he entered Bangor Theological Seminary. Remaining there one year he completed his Theological course at Andover in 1857. He was ordained as an Evangelist at Glover, Vt., January 12, 1858, and having been permitted to labor in the ministry nearly one year at Barton in the same State, he returned to the home of his childhood, to waste away in consumption and die.

The deceased was the subject of very early as well as permanent and controlling religious impressions. The precise date of his hopeful conversion, is unknown to the writer; but as early as his 12th or 14th year, when his companions gathered on their spring holiday, he did not join in their sports, but took his Bible and spent the day in his closet with God. So exemplary was his early piety that it was a common remark concerning him, "If there is a true Christian, I believe he is one." The piety of his maturer years was to an unusual degree, uniform, consistent, genial, and self-denying.

His character presented many strong points. He was possessed of marked cheerfulness, vivacity, and perseverance. Nothing short of a high degree of these, would ever have carried him through the obstacles he met in obtaining an education. He was one of the few who were always at the prayer-meeting and always interested and interesting. His prayers manifested a peculiarly deep Christian experience, and freedom of intercourse with Heaven, and all his life confirms this impression of him.

The debts incurred for his education were a constant source of anxiety and discouragement to him. But the vigor of his manliness and piety bore him nobly through. What a burden was lifted from his heart, how he thanked God and took courage, when now and then some servant of Christ, blessed with this world's goods, relieved his need. His life was a beautiful example of filial fidelity. His own unusual burdens he made no excuse for neglecting the cares and interests of his widowed mother. Her he cherished with unwearied, tender and self-denying affection. In studies he was

distinguished more for faithful, persevering industry than for quickness of acquisition; more for solidity than brilliancy of scholarship.

He toiled on with marked diligence and with perseverance that won a noble success. Ten years he studied and was permitted to preach but one. Yet his labor was not in vain. The record of his brief ministry is one upon which friends will long delight to dwell.

An officer of the church in Barton writes: "He seemed ready for every good word and work. He went from house to house entreating men to be reconciled to God. He labored with success in our Sabbath School: he was loved by young and old. We should have been glad to settle him as our pastor had it been the will of God."

Through most of his sickness he mourned the absence of that ardor of love toward Christ and that sense of his presence which he desired, yet expressed great confidence that if removed, assurance would be granted him before death. He cherished the delusive hope of life almost to the last, and hence did not accustom himself to commune with death as a near reality. When it was announced to him that his end was very near and the last ray of earthly hope went out, he was in great darkness and fear. He did not doubt the sufficiency of Christ, but questioned his own saving interest in him. When asked if some earthly interests troubled him, he replied, "No, that is not it at all. All these things are nothing. I want a realization of a vital union to Christ and his cross."

After this short struggle he was calm and trustful, though rarely joyful. The love and filial trust of a child were his, rather than the rapture sometimes experienced. He left as his dying charge to the young people of the place. "*Seek at once an interest in Christ. Secure the pearl of great price. Let nothing prevent.*"

On Wednesday, May 11th, in great suffering, which none expected him to survive, he was entirely conscious, and said with great expressiveness, as if the light of heaven already began to appear, "*I can now see through.*" On Thursday morning, he peacefully "fell asleep."

## Congregational Quarterly Record.

[Readers are requested to send information of any errors they may discover in the following lists, and also to supply any omissions; such corrections and additions will be gladly received, and will be inserted in succeeding numbers. We wish to make a complete and accurate historical record.]

### Churches Formed.

- Mar. 13. " LINCOLN, Logan Co., Ill.  
 " 23. " HAMPDEN, Kansas.  
 April 10. " RICHVIEW, Washington Co., Ill.  
 " 11. " PORT NORFOLK, (in Dorchester) Ms.  
 " 26. " WAYNE, Cass Co., Mich.  
 " 27. " YARMOUTH, Me., the " Central Cong. Church."  
 May 22. " COLLINS STATION, Clinton Co., Ill.

### Pastors Dismissed.

- MARCH 2. Rev. F. B. WHEELER, from the Ch. in Saco, Me., to accept a call from Presb. Ch. in Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 8. Rev. S. C. BARTLETT, from the New England Ch., Chicago, Ill.  
 10. Rev. T. S. NORTON, from the Ch. in Sullivan, N. H.  
 10. Rev. CHARLES W. TORREY, from the Cong. Ch. at East Cleveland, Ohio.  
 — Rev. WM. CLAGGETT, from the Cong. Ch. at West Hartford, Vt.  
 — Rev. ASA F. CLARK, from the Ch. in Peru, Vt.  
 17. Rev. WILLIAM E. BASSETT, from the Ch. in Central Village, Ct.  
 29. Rev. CHARLES JONES, from the Ch. at Battle Creek, Mich.,—connection to end with the last Sabbath in May.  
 APRIL 4. Rev. J. B. WHEELWRIGHT, from the Ch. in Westbrook, Me.  
 5. Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE, from the Ch. in Carlisle, Ms.  
 — Rev. CHARLES A. AIKEN, from the Ch. in Yarmouth, Me.  
 18. Rev. JOSEPH BLAKE, from the Ch. in Cumberland, Me.  
 — Rev. EDGAR J. DOOLITTLE, from the Ch. at Chester, Ct.  
 19. Rev. HARVEY ADAMS, from the Ch. in Farmington, Iowa.  
 19. Rev. S. J. AUSTIN, from the Ch. in Mason Village, N. H.  
 20. Rev. DAVID EASTMAN, from the Ch. in Levett, Ms.  
 20. Rev. GEORGE RICHARDS, from the Central Ch. Boston.  
 MAY 4. Rev. WM. DAVENPORT, from the Ch. in Strong, Me.  
 10. Rev. THEODORE WELLS, from the Cong. Ch. in Barrington, N. H.,—connection to end May 29.  
 16. Rev. JAMES M. HOPPIN, from the Crombie Street Ch., Salem, Ms.  
 17. Rev. JAMES H. DILL, from the Ch. at Spencerport, N. Y.,—to go to Chicago, Ill.  
 18. Rev. WM. B. CLARKE, from the Ch. in North Cornwall, Ct.  
 — Rev. HENRY M. BRIDGE, from the Ch. in Warwick, Ms.

19. Rev. MELANCTHON G. WHEELER, from the Ch. in South Dartmouth, Ms.  
 — Rev. ASA B. SMITH, from the Ch. in Buckland, Mass.,—connection to end August 1.  
 — Rev. S. B. GOODENOW, from the Ch. in Saugerties, N. Y.  
 — Rev. C. N. SEYMOUR, from the Ch. in Whately, Mass.  
 31. Rev. DAVID B. SEWALL, from the Ch. in Robinson, Me.  
 JUNE 9. Rev. MARCUS AMES, from the Ch. at Westminster, Ms.  
 — Rev. A. G. HIBBARD, connected with the Elgin Association, Ill., has been formally deposed from the ministry by that Association, for errors in doctrine.

### Ministers Ordained, or Installed.

- FEB. 11. Mr. ROBERT G. BAIRD, at Toronto, O. W., over the Cong. Ch. at Port Sarina. Introductory services, Rev. James Boyd; "Usual questions to the Pastor elect," Rev. William Hay; Ordaining prayer, Rev. Daniel McCallum; Charge to the Pastor, Rev. Edward Ebbs; Address to the People, Rev. John Wood, on the words "Encourage him."  
 16. Mr. QUINCY BLAKELY, at Rodman, N. Y.; Sermon by Rev. James Douglas, of Rutland; Ordaining prayer by "Father Spear," of Rodman. [Married, Dec. 9, 1853, in Dorset, Vt., to Miss Gertrude Sykes, of Dorset.]  
 MARCH 8. Rev. E. E. WILLIAMS, over the Cong. Ch. at Warsaw, Wyoming Co., N. Y. Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. J. Edwards of Rochester, N. Y.  
 9. Rev. HENRY BATES, over the Ch. in Almont, Mich. Sermon by Rev. H. D. Kitchel, D.D., of Detroit. Installing prayer by Rev. E. T. Branch, of Canandaigua.  
 10. Rev. NATHANIEL L. UPHAM, over the Ch. in Manchester, Vt. Sermon by Rev. Henry E. Parker, Concord, N. H. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. A. Walker.  
 22. Mr. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, at Lenox, Ms.; an accepted missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. to the Madura Mission.  
 30. Rev. EDWIN A. BUCK, late of Bethel, Me., over the Cong. Ch. at Slatersville, R. I. Sermon by Rev. H. D. Walker, of Abington, Ms. Installing Prayer by Rev. O. F. Ouis, of Chepachet, R. I.  
 APRIL 13. Rev. HENRY G. LUDLOW, late of the 1st Presb. Ch. in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., over the Cong. Ch. in Oswego, N. Y. Sermon and Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Ray Palmer, of Albany, N. Y.  
 13. Rev. C. E. FISHER, over the Lawrence St. Ch., Lawrence, Ms. Sermon by Rev. E. B. Foster, of Lowell. Installing Prayer by Rev. C. W. Wallace, of Manchester, N. H.  
 13. Rev. ELBRIDGE G. LITTLE, over the Cong. Ch. at North Middleboro', Ms. Sermon by Rev. E.



- Maltby, of Taunton. Installing Prayer by Rev. M. Blake, of Taunton.
14. Mr. JAS. F. CLARKE, at Holden, Ms. to the Missionary work in Turkey. Sermon by Rev. A. C. Thompson, of Roxbury. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. W. P. Paine, D. D., of Holden. The Charge was given by Mr. Clarke's father, Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Winchendon. [See also, Marriages.]
  20. Mr. CHARLES C. SALTER, over the Cong. Ch. at Kewaupee, Ill.
  20. Rev. G. BUCKINGHAM WILLCOX, late of the Lawrence St. Ch., Lawrence, Ms., over the 2d Cong. Ch. in New London, Ct. Sermon by Prof. Park, of Andover, Ms. Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Bond, of Norwich.
  20. Mr. JOHN S. SEWALL, over the Ch. in Wenham, Ms. Sermon by Rev. J. B. Sewall, of Lynn, (brother to the first named.) Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Jotham Sewall, his father.
  - Rev. HENRY D. KING, over the Ch. in Magnolia, Harrison Co., Iowa. Sermon by Rev. John Todd. Installing Prayer by Rev. G. Rice.
  28. Prof. F. W. FISK, recently of Beloit College, but then Professor elect in Chicago Theological Seminary, was ordained at Chicago, Ill., without pastoral charge. Sermon by Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, of Milwaukee, Wis.
  - MAY 3. Mr. A. D. CHAPMAN, over the Ch. in Seward, Gleason's Ridge, Ill. Sermon by Rev. E. B. Turner.
  8. Rev. WM. S. SMITH, late of New York, over the 1st Ch. in Guilford, Ct. Sermon by Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y. Installing Prayer by Rev. O. H. White, of Meriden.
  5. Mr. HILLYER, by the Presbytery of Cleveland, over the Cong. Ch. in Brecksville, Ohio. Sermon by Rev. Thomas H. Goodrich. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Wm. Day.
  11. Rev. A. F. CLARKE, recently of Peru, over the Cong. Ch. in Ludlow, Vt. Sermon by Rev. J. D. Wickham, of Manchester.
  11. Rev. LEWIS BRIDGMAN, late of West Hawley, Ms., over the Ch. in Middlefield, Ms. Sermon by Rev. R. Foster. Installing Prayer by Rev. W. C. Foster.
  12. Mr. STEPHEN S. MERRILL, over the Cong. Ch. in Malden, Ill. Sermon by Rev. J. Blanchard, of Galesburg. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. D. Todd, of Providence.
  12. Mr. HENRY LANGPAAP, of Muscatine, Iowa, at Wilton, over the German Ch. Sermon by Rev. George F. Magoun, of Davenport. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. J. A. Reed, of Davenport.
  17. Rev. S. B. GOODENOW, late of Saugerties, N. Y., over the 1st Cong. Ch. at Rockville, Ct.
  18. Rev. W. B. DADA, over the Cong. Ch. in Jackson, Mich. Sermon by Rev. Dr. H. D. Kitchel, of Detroit.
  18. Mr. AUSTIN WILLEY, over the Ch. at Anoka, Minn. Sermon by Rev. D. Burt, of Winona. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Royal Twichell.
  18. Rev. STEPHEN FENN, over the Ch. at South Cornwall, Ct. Sermon by Rev. L. Perrin, of New Britain. Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Joseph Eldridge, of Norfolk.
  - Mr. J. E. CARTER, as an Evangelist, at Greenport, L. I. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. J. H. Francis.
  19. Rev. MARTIN S. HOWARD, late of West Yarmouth, Me., over the Ch. in South Dartmouth, Ms. Sermon by Rev. J. H. Means, of Duxbury. Installing Prayer by Rev. W. Craig, of New Bedford.
  19. Rev. C. M. TYLER, late of Galesburg, Ill., over the Ch. in Natick, Ms. Sermon by Rev. J. M. Manning, of Boston.
  25. Rev. STEPHEN ROGERS, late of Northfield,
- over the Ch. in Wolcott, Ct. Sermon by Rev. James Averill, of Plymouth Hollow. Installing Prayer by Rev. Austin Putnam, of Whitneyville.
- JUNE 1. Mr. EVARTS SCUDDER, over the Cong. Ch. at Kent, Ct. Sermon by Rev. Dr. N. Adams, of Boston. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Dr. J. Eldridge, of Norfolk.
1. Mr. HENRY LOOMIS, Jr., over the "Union" Ch. at Globe Village, Southbridge, Ms. Sermon by Rev. Dr. E. N. Kirk, of Boston. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Eber Carpenter, of Southbridge.
  2. Mr. WILLIAM A. MCGINLEY, over the Ch. in Shrewsbury, Ms. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Seth Sweetser, of Worcester. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Dr. W. P. Paine, of Holden.
  2. Mr. JOHN G. BAIRD, over the Cong. Ch. at Centre Brook, Saybrook, Ct.
  8. Mr. D. N. BORDWELL, over the Ch. at Le Claire, Iowa. Sermon by Rev. G. F. Magoun, of Davenport. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. William Porter, of Port Byron, Ill.
  8. Mr. LORING B. MARSH, at South Scituate, R. I., as an Evangelist. Sermon by Rev. A. H. Clapp, of Providence. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Dr. Leonard Swain, of Providence.
  8. Rev. CHRISTOPHER M. CORDLEY, late of West Randolph, Ms., over the Ch. in West Brookfield, Ms. Sermon by Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, of Braintree. Installing Prayer by Rev. M. Tupper, of Hardwick.
  8. Rev. E. D. MURPHY, over the Cong. Ch. at Avon, Ct. Sermon by Rev. Prof. Hitchcock, of New York. Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Porter, of Farmington.
  9. Mr. CHARLES REDFIELD, of Elizabethtown, N. Y., as an Evangelist. Sermon by Rev. Dr. May Palmer, of Albany, N. Y.
  9. Rev. BROWN EMERSON, late of Montague, Ms., over the Ch. at Westminister, Ms. Sermon by Rev. E. B. Foster, of Lowell. Installing Prayer by Rev. J. C. Paine, of Gardner.
  9. Mr. H. D. BLAKE, over the Ch. at Mendota, Ill.
  16. Rev. JAMES AIKEN, over the Ch. in Hanover (Four Corners) Mass. Sermon by Rev. H. D. Walker, of East Abington. Installing Prayer by Rev. Joseph Peckham.
  21. Rev. T. C. PRATT, over the Ch. in Hampstead, N. H. Sermon by Rev. J. P. Terry, of South Weymouth, Ms. Ordaining Prayer by Rev. J. Perkins, of Braintree, Ms.

### Ministers Married.

- MARCH 24. At West Medway, Ms., Rev. JACOB IDE, Jr., to Miss ELLEN M., daughter of Hon. John Rogers, both of Mansfield.
- Rev. WM. A. BARTLETT, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to Miss CHARLOTTE A. FLANDERS, of Milwaukee, Wis.
- APRIL 6. At Topsfield, Ms., Rev. MARTIN MOORE, one of the proprietors of the *Boston Recorder*, to Miss SUSAN CUMMINGS, both of Boston.
14. At Holden, Ms., Rev. JAMES F. CLARKE to Miss ISABELLA G., daughter of the late Thomas Jones Davis, Esq.. [See "Ordained."]
  19. At Cheshire, Ct., Rev. DANIEL MARCH, of Woburn, Me., to Mrs. ANNIE L. CONTE.
  28. At Bangor, Me., Rev. FRANCIS PELOUBET, of Lanesville, (Gloucester) Ms., to MARY ABBY, eldest daughter of Sidney Thaxter, Esq., of Bangor.
- MAY 5. At St. Johnsbury, Vt., Rev. C. L. GOOD-ELL, of New Britain, Ct., to Miss EMILY, daughter of Hon. Erastus Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury.

11. At Albany, N. Y., Rev. STEPHEN HUBBELL, of North Stonington, Ct., to Miss HARKIETT T., daughter of the late Ezra Hawley, of Catskill, N. Y.
12. At Springfield, Ms., Rev. THOMAS JORDAN, of Springfield, to Miss ELLEN WOODS.
16. At Burlington, Vt., Rev. SPENCER MARSH to Miss SARAH ANN WHEELER, both of Burlington.

— At Brookline, Ms., Rev. HENRY LOOMIS, Jr., of Southbridge, to Miss FANNIE E. CRAFT, of Brookline.

### Ministers Deceased.

MAY 12. In Boylston, Ms., Rev. WM. D. FLAGG, aged 80.

### OUR STATE STATISTICS.

The Statistics of the Orthodox Congregationalist Churches in Massachusetts have been collected for the past year, although not to be published in full until after the session of the General Association. This year, for the first time, reports are had from every Congregationalist Church in the State. We gather from the tables the following items:

There are, in Massachusetts, 485 Orthodox Congregationalist Churches,—a gain of two. There are 27 Associations of clergymen, and 18 Conferences of churches; the Associations embrace the bulk of the clergymen in active service; the Conferences include 343 churches, (perhaps a few more.) The entire membership is 76,876, (of which almost precisely one third are males;) that of the preceding year, 69,432,—showing a net gain in 1858, of 7,444. The admissions in the year 1858, were, by profession, 8,811: by letter, 2,497; total, 11,308. The removals were, by death, 1,172; by dismission, 2,416; by excommunication, 78; total, 3,666; and there were three or four hundred losses of names by revision of Church lists,—a work going on for some years past. The number of baptisms were, of adults, 3,094; of infants, 1,721. The number of persons in Sabbath Schools were 79,760,—a net gain of more than 6,000. There appear to be no Orthodox Congregational Churches in 27 small towns; but there is evangelical preaching in all of these, and in most of them are Orthodox persons, members of our churches in adjoining and easily accessible places.

The admissions to the churches for a few years past have been as follows:

Year.	Profession.	Letter.
1849	1,185	1,510
1850	8,449	1,975
1851	1,674	1,599
1852	2,114	1,775
1853	1,681	2,063
1854	1,713	1,618
1855	2,444	1,790
1856	1,843	1,710
1857	2,993	2,027
1858	8,811	2,497

### A LITTLE ADVICE.

*Brother.—you who have been appointed to publish the statistics in your Ecclesiastical Association or Conference,—*

Unless you want your issues to promote sin on the part of your readers, please

1. Insert Associations, and towns in Associations, in strictly *alphabetical order*.

2. Give an index of *clergymen*, arranged alphabetically.

3. Give an index of *towns* or other localities where your churches exist, arranged alphabetically.

4. Insert in some *conspicuous place* the names of the officers of the General Association, and the time and place of next meeting.

5. Remember that the sole value of these publications is in the *information* they afford. Please don't be afraid to *inform* people, nor to give them facilities for *easily* ascertaining what they want to know. The things which you know, are the things they don't know.

6. When your issues are printed, be *liberal*. Send four copies to this Congregational Quarterly; three more to the Congregational Library Association; one to every permanent Library in your State; two to your State Historical Society; two to each Secretary and Statistical Secretary of each General Association; one to each of the Congregational newspapers in the United States; one to Harvard College; one to the Massachusetts Historical Society; two to each of our Theological Seminaries; and then make arrangements for exchanges with every other Secretary sufficient to give one to each local Association,—which means that Massachusetts needs and wants twenty-seven, and will give in return to every State body, enough to supply its local Associations with one apiece. Do all this, and generations yet unborn shall call you blessed.

Through inadvertence, the valuable article upon "Churches and Ministers in Windham County, Ct.," was printed without the author's name. It was prepared by Rev. Robert C. Learned, of Berlin, Ct., and will be continued.

## AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

THE Sixth Anniversary was held in the New Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Tuesday evening, May 10, 1859.

The President, Rev. LEONARD BACON, D. D., was in the Chair, and opened the meeting with prayer.

The following Annual Report of the Trustees was read:—

The Trustees of the American Congregational Union, herewith present their SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The closing, like the past, has been essentially a year of preparatory work; consequently our necessary expenses bear still too large a proportion to our receipts. In this respect, however, our experience is not different from that of other benevolent organizations which have been compelled to work their way into public favor. That ours will ere long receive the confidence and support its intrinsic importance demands, there is every reason to believe. But too many yet stand aloof, merely looking on, affording us good wishes instead of generous gifts; waiting to see the result of an experiment, which indeed would be no experiment, were there that co-operation on all hands, for the withholding of which, there does not seem to be a sufficient excuse. Hence the field, which denominational affiliations assign to us, is not ripe unto the harvest. There are prejudices yet to be overcome,—some ignorance of the wants of our own brotherhood to be enlightened,—and many do not comprehend the fact that ours is a most needy, as well as promising missionary work. And it has been somewhat difficult to secure a place and a response among so many claimants of the charities of our churches, for a new object, especially during such financial embarrassments as the last eighteen months have witnessed. Still the past has been a year of decided, and on the whole, gratifying progress. Our Secretary has found many more pulpits open

to his appeals, and more contributions have been pledged and received, independent of his labors, than hitherto. And there have been more kindly sympathies expressed, and assurances of remembrance before our common Father's throne, from those who could only do thus much, than ever before; and these have cheered us not a little in our just-begun work.

Moreover, this year, for the first time in our brief history, have individuals assumed the responsibility of securing the erection, and paying the last bills upon a house of worship, each one ranging in amount from one hundred to three hundred dollars. More than twelve men have already assumed, and some have discharged this pleasing responsibility; and in no way is it apparent how, with so little money, so much good can be done, so quickly, to so many, for so long a time. Has not the Saviour yet many more stewards who will imitate an example so worthy of imitation? Let a hundred be found to say, each, as one recently said—"Hold me responsible for one house of worship for some feeble, but promising Congregational Church,"—and the wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

Our treasury has been overdrawn nearly the entire year. As our appropriations are usually much in advance of the completion of the houses to which they are devoted, our liabilities may be much greater than our actual and present receipts with comparative safety. But there is a point in this direction beyond which it is unsafe to go. Up to that point we have been compelled to linger. Needy churches by scores have been dissuaded from applying for aid, and many asking have been deferred until their hope has

died out; and at times the question has been asked with a solicitude not easily described, "will this church-building enterprise be sustained?"

On the 27th of March last that question was, at least in part, answered. An appeal was made by our Secretary, to the Church of the Puritans, in this city, under the disadvantage of having been immediately preceded by other and significant calls for pecuniary aid, which had been readily afforded; but to our appeal there was a response, so spontaneous, so unexpectedly bountiful and free, that it has marked an era in our history. It was a God-send indeed. Our star of hope arose at once above the horizon. A contribution more than six times as large as we had ever received from any church in one year, was pledged before night. It brought up our receipts at one bound to a living and moving figure. And it has opened the way to other treasures never before accessible to us, and is provoking, and will provoke both to love and good works in various directions. All thanks to the pastor and men who came so cheerfully and nobly to our help in this extremity. There are now some pleasing assurances that other churches, of greater and less resources, will place this object upon their calendar, and help this cause in its turn. May God in infinite mercy incline them to do so!

There were fourteen hundred and ninety-six dollars and eighty-five cents in our treasury at the commencement of the closing year, all of which, and much more, had been appropriated. During the year there has been ten thousand six hundred and nineteen dollars and ninety-two cents collected, which, added to the amount on hand, has made our available resources twelve thousand one hundred and sixteen dollars and seventy-seven cents. Of this amount, two thousand four hundred and eighty dollars, have been paid to nine churches, to complete and pay the last bills on their houses of worship. And appropriations have been made to twenty other churches, which are now in a process of erection.

There is an appropriated balance on hand of four thousand nine hundred and thirteen dollars and twenty-eight cents—falling five hundred and eighty-six dollars and seventy-two cents below the sum already pledged. But on the other hand there is about two thousand dollars guaranteed by responsible men for the erection of houses of worship, which will be paid as soon as the buildings are completed to which the appropriations have been made. There are, moreover, fourteen hundred and two Year Books on sale at more than thirty places, from which returns have not yet been made; and we have on hand five hundred copies of the present volume, and ninety unbroken sets of the six volumes published. The latter can not fail to be valuable in every Theological and Ecclesiastical Library for all time, as they embrace the only reliable history of our denominational statistics and ministerial necrology during that period. And their speedy sale would be a material help to our funds. We have also about two hundred dollars still due for advertisements, or invested in maps and books in payment for the same.

A proposition was received in February last, from the editors and proprietors of the "Congregational Quarterly" to make some arrangement by which our Church building, and their denominational publishing and Library plans might be mutually promoted. After full and repeated interchange of views, a connection was formed, upon a firm and gratifying basis, by which, henceforth, the Congregational Quarterly becomes virtually and sufficiently the organ of the Library Association, and the American Congregational Union; and is published under the sanction of both, and both sustain the same relations to it. The Secretary of each is an editor, associated with the Reverends Henry M. Dexter of Boston, and A. H. Quint of Jamaica Plain, neither organization being responsible for either its editorial matter, or its pecuniary liabilities, though reserving the right to pur-

chase a part, or the whole, upon conditions mutually satisfactory. It is confidently believed that this arrangement will meet the general approbation of our denomination, and by it a better periodical and a much wider circulation will be secured, and a great denominational want will be met. It is time our past history, so far as it can be, should be recalled and written out,—our current history jotted down,—our principles and polity set forth in permanent form,—and our statistics so arranged and recorded that our progress may be noted and known. This Quarterly is adapted to, and intended for these important purposes. And as it enters a field unoccupied, it becomes the rival of no contemporary. As it is not the champion of any theological party, it will carry with it nothing to provoke the ire, or excite the prejudices of any of our scattered brotherhood, east, west, north or south. The Year Book, in name and form, will be suspended. The first number of the Quarterly will, each year, contain the catalogue of our ministry, with the post office address, and the time and place of the graduation of each;—and the statistics of our churches will be more carefully collated and arranged for publication than ever before. The four numbers, each year, will furnish a volume of more than 400 pages, with four fine steel engravings of some of our distinguished dead,—with wood cuts of churches, &c., altogether well worth the single dollar at which it is offered. We can not too cordially commend this periodical to the patronage of all who value the church polity and principles of our Puritan Fathers.

Our Year Book has been hitherto sent to our Life and Annual Members gratuitously. It was pledged to such as long as it should be published. We shall send the next number of the present volume of the Quarterly to all such, who may not be known as subscribers to that work; *thereafter*, we are sure they will not expect us to be at this expense.

In regard to this church-building work—now so successfully and systematically prosecuted by all other leading evangelical denominations, with us it is but just fairly inaugurated; yet it promises a usefulness second to no other labor of Christian benevolence. Every church aided has had its congregation increased, some fifty, some seventy-five, and some more than one hundred fold; and every other means of grace in like proportion increased. A number of churches have become immediately self-sustaining, thus saving to the Missionary Society annually as much as we have appropriated to secure the erection of their sanctuary. So that if ours is not strictly and truly home missionary work, it is not easy to find such work. One pastor writes, "your Society is the right arm of the Home Missionary Society;" another, "yours is supplemental to that;" another, "neither is complete without the other." Our work lingers only because we have not the means at command to carry it forward on a scale at all commensurate with its demands. Hitherto we have not dared to intimate to the destitute that we were ready to consider their claims; we have been compelled to *discourage* rather than *encourage* applications. One pastor has written lately, saying that there were five churches in his association alone, which were waiting for an intimation that an application would be successful. An agent of the Home Missionary Society wants us to build fifty houses of worship at once on his field, and these will not supply the present destitution of Congregational churches there. Others ask, "can we encourage our struggling churches to look to you for help,—or must they go over to another denomination to secure houses of worship?" Three times the amount at our command for this year, could be most usefully disbursed every year, at scarcely any increased expenditure; and this for how long a time to come no one can foretell;—thus bringing the means of life and progress, and self-

support every year, to more than half a hundred now feeble churches,—thus securing centres of religious power and permanency where now all is uncertainty as well as imbecility, at the best;—and besides all this we should do much other collateral, and much needed religious work, which waits, and will wait our action. Can we have the funds? You who hear and read these our statements will answer this inquiry—and if affirmatively, we shall be able to give an account of our labors at our next Anniversary, as much more satisfactory to ourselves, and gratifying to you, as it will be more pleasing to the Great Head of the Church, who commands,—“Let the house of the Lord be builded in his place.”

In behalf of the Trustees,

I. P. LANGWORTHY.

After the reading of the Report and singing, the Annual Address was delivered by Rev. Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., President of Yale College.

The public services were closed with prayer and the benediction by the Rev. John Waddington, of London.

#### BUSINESS MEETING.

The Annual Meeting for business of the American Congregational Union, was held at the City Assembly Rooms, 448 Broadway, at three o'clock, P. M., on Thursday, May 12, 1859. The President, Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., occupied the Chair, and opened the meeting with prayer. The first business was the acceptance and adoption of the Annual Report of the Trustees.

On motion of Rev. J. P. Thompson, D. D., the Report was referred to the Board of Trustees, to be published under their direction.

The following Report of the Treasurer, was then read, accepted, and referred to the Trustees for publication.

*Am. Cong. Union in Acc't with N. A. Calkins, Treas.*  
1859—May 2. To balance on hand as per last year's report, \$1,496 85

#### MAINE.

Rev. E. Whitesey, Bath, Life Mem.,	25 00
Cong. Church, Norridgewock,	12 00
“ “ Bethel,	5 00
Rev. Geo. E. Adams, D. D., Brunswick,	16 00
2d Cong. Church, Wells,	8 42
“ “ Brewer Village,	7 00
2d “ “ Warren,	5 00
Annual Member,	1 00—79 42

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1st Cong. Church, Chester,	12 94
“ “ Acworth,	15 00
“ “ Greenfield,	10 36
“ “ East Jaffrey,	2 60
“ “ Meredith Village,	3 00

1st Cong. Church, Manchester,	25 54
“ “ Amherst,	26 84
“ “ Littleton,	3 64
“ “ Mason Village,	11 59
Rev. John H. Merrill, Tainworth,	5 00
Rev. James Holmes, Auburn,	5 00
Annual Members,	10 90—130 91

#### VERMONT.

Cong. Church, Pittsford,	17 00
“ “ West Brattleboro',	10 35
Mrs. Mary Partridge, Waterbury,	5 00
Annual Members,	3 00—35 35

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

1st Cong. Church, So. Danvers, bal.,	1 00
Cong. Societies in Hampden County,	
Collections made for Kansas,	295 59
Theological Seminary, Andover,	31 00
A New Society, Marblehead,	15 00
Union Evangelical Church, Sudbury,	11 00
1st Cong. Church, South Deerfield,	25 00
“ “ “ Souerville,	26 67
Free “ “ Andover,	10 00
Old South “ Reading,	12 35
Cong. Church, Lancaster,	4 00
“ “ “ West Newton,	80 13
Old South Church, Andover,	50 00
Monument “ South Deerfield,	32 00
Bethesda “ Reading,	34 00
Croubie Street Church, Salem,	25 00
Cong. Church, Braintree,	35 00
“ “ West Cambridge,	51 00
“ “ Weymouth & Braintree,	29 48
“ “ Woburn,	115 94
1st Cong. “ Conway,	33 24
Cong. “ Mattapoisett,	25 00

A lady in West Cambridge, for a

Church at New London, Wis.,

Rev. A. P. Marvin, W. chendon, I. M.,

“ E. P. Marvin, Medford, do.

“ Edmund K. Alden, Lenox, do.

Chas. B. Richards n, Esq., Boston, do.

Rev. S. W. Barnum, Phillipston, do.

A friend in Natick,

Mrs. B. C. Bart, East Hampton,

T. E. Whittemore, Malden, Life M.,

Rev. H. A. Woodman, Newburyport,

Cong. Church, Winchester,

Whitfield Church, Newburyport,

North “ “ “ “

John Street Church, Lowell,

Appleton Street, “ “

First “ “ “ “

High “ “ “ “

Kirk “ “ “ “

Winslow Church, Taunton,

Broadway “ Chelsea,

Winnisimmet Church, Chelsea,

Evangelical “ Harvard,

Salem Street “ Boston,

Rev. O. S. Lombard, Southfield,

George Beale, Jr., Cohasset,

Dr. Sabin, Templeton,

Cong. Church, Hatfield,

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#### CONNECTICUT.

Cong. Church, East Windsor,	40 00
1st Cong. Church, Lebanon,	36 35
“ “ Brooklyn,	17 00
Cong. Church, Litchfield,	27 21
“ “ North Stonington,	26 00

200 00  
1 00  
18 00—3181 63





By am't paid drawing and engraving church views and plans for Year Book.	94 00
" " " Printing Year Book, 1859,	440 37
" " " Dr. Kitchel's Address.	20 00
" " " printing letter heads.	3 60—23 50
" " " Binding Year Book, 1859,	65 04

By appropriations paid—	
To Cong. Church at Ogden, Kansas,	300 00
" " " " River Falls, Wis.,	300 00
" " " " Downsville, Cal.,	500 00
" " " " Des Moines, Iowa,	200 00
" " " " Manhattan, Kan.,	500 00
" " " " Menasha, Wis.,	250 00
" " " " LeRavensville, Pa.,	250 00
" " " " W. Charlestown,	
" " " " Vermont,	100 00
" " " " Sterling and Vol-	
" " " " town, Cr.,	80 00—2480 00

By am't paid for rollers for sending Life Member's Certificates,	1 00
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By balance on hand,	\$7,03 49
	4913 28
	\$12,116 77

We hereby certify that we have this day examined the general balance of the American Congregational Union for the year ending on second day of May eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, submitted by N. A. Calkins, Esq., Treasurer, and have also examined and compared the vouchers, relative to its items, and have found his account and the balance correct, showing the balance of cash on hand to be four thousand nine hundred and thirteen dollars and twenty-eight cents.

CHAUNCEY W. MOORE, } Auditors.  
WILLIAM ALLEN, }

On motion of Rev. Dr. Thompson it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the American Congregational Union be expressed to Rev. Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., President of Yale College, for his valuable discourse, delivered at the anniversary on Tuesday last, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication, under the direction of the Trustees.

The following persons were nominated and elected

#### OFFICERS FOR 1859-60.

##### President.

Rev. LEONARD BACON, D.D., of New Haven, Ct.

##### Vice Presidents.

Hon. BRADFORD R. WOOD, Albany, N. Y.  
Rev. GEORGE SHEPARD, D.D., Bangor, Me.  
Rev. MARK HOPKINS, D.D., Williamstown, Ms.  
Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, Cambridge, Ms.  
Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D.D., Pittsford, Vt.  
Hon. ARISTARCHUS CHAMPION, Rochester, N. Y.  
Rev. H. D. KITCHEL, D.D., Detroit, Mich.  
Rev. T. M. POST, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.  
Rev. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., Andover, Ms.  
Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, D.D., Canandaigua, N. Y.  
D. F. ROBINSON, Esq., Hartford, Ct.  
Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., New York.  
Rev. JONATHAN LEAVITT, D.D., Providence, R. I.  
Rev. J. M. STURTEVANT, D.D., Jacksonville, Ill.  
Rev. J. H. LINSLEY, D.D., Greenwich, Ct.  
Rev. H. M. STORRS, Cincinnati, O.  
Rev. B. P. STONE, D.D., Concord, N. H.  
S. B. GOOKINS, Esq., Terre Haute, Ind.  
Rev. T. WICKES, Marietta, O.  
Rev. JULIUS A. REED, Davenport, Io.  
Hon. WILLIAM T. EUSTIS, Boston, Ms.  
Hon. W. A. BUCKINGHAM, Norwich, Ct.

##### Trustees.

Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., Rev. William I. Budington, Rev. Rufus W. Clark, Rev. Isaac P. Langworthy, Rev. William R. Tompkins, William C. Gilman, Chauncey W. Moore, William Allen, Henry C. Bowen, George Walker, Adon Smith, Robert D. Benedict, Esq., Seth B. Hunt, Alfred S. Barnes, S. Nelson Davis, William G. West, Walter T. Hatch, Norman A. Calkins, Andrew Fitzgerald, James W. Elwell, Charles Powers.

##### Corresponding Secretary.

Rev. ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY.

##### Recording Secretary and Treasurer.

N. A. CALKINS.

Rooms, Nos. 7 and 9 Appleton's Building, 343 Broadway, New York.

After the election of officers the meeting was adjourned.

The Anniversary Collation of the Union was held at the City Assembly Rooms, 448 Broadway, at 7 o'clock, P. M., Thursday, May 13. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher presided. Brief addresses were made by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. I. P. Langworthy, Rev. Samuel Wolcott, Rev. H. B. Anderson, Rev. Henry M. Scudder, and Prof. Thacher, of Yale College.

## CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

## BUSINESS MEETING.

Agreeably to published notice, the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Library Association was held at the Library Hall, Chauncy Street, Boston, on Tuesday, the 24th day of May, 1859, at 12 o'clock, M., the President, Rev. Wm. T. Dwight, D.D., in the Chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., of New York.

The Records of the last Annual Meeting were read by the Recording Secretary.

The Sixth Annual Report of the Directors was read by the Recording Secretary, who was also instructed, by vote, to procure its publication in the "Congregational Quarterly," if agreeable to the editors; and on such terms as might be satisfactory to him and them.

A full Report of the Treasurer was presented, and placed on file,—an abstract of which, with the auditor's certificate, were read and ordered to be printed with that of the Directors. [See p. 330].

A special Report was also made of a slight informality discovered in the process of organizing under the Charter of April 12, 1854, and of a "Resolve confirming the Records and Doings" of the Association since that date, which the Directors had obtained from the Legislature at its last session. The Resolve was read, and approved, and ordered to be embodied in the Minutes.

The officers for the ensuing year were then chosen, [see p. 332,] and the Association adjourned to meet in Central Church at 3½ o'clock, P. M., to attend the public exercises in connection with the

## ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS.

At the appointed hour, the President called on Rev. JOHN WADDINGTON, from England, to offer prayer; which was followed by a brief statement of the Association's doings the past year, from the

Corresponding Secretary, and a hymn of praise from the whole congregation. Rev. JOHN TODD, D.D., of Pittsfield, was then introduced, who delivered an able Address, which held the attention of a full house till a late hour.

At an adjourned meeting, held on Friday morning, Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, of Cambridge, was chosen to deliver the next annual Address, and Hon. W. W. ELLSWORTH, of Hartford, his substitute.

## SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT.

In several respects the Congregational Library Association has made very gratifying progress the past year.

It has received an accession of 680 new members. The whole number now connected with the Association is about 2,300. These, though widely scattered, are joined together, not only by religious affinities, but also, to a great extent, by kindred ties,—a two-fold bond of brotherhood, suited alike to promote their denominational efficiency and their mutual affection. This fraternizing, coöperative influence, which the founders foresaw would be likely to result from an Association formed on the basis of a common faith and a common ancestry, was one of the first objects of their desire. And imagination, gathering omens from the past year, looks forward to a time, not distant, when those early aspirations will be realized; when the entire Congregational family on this continent—at least such as have a New England origin—will feel the power of this influence, by being brought into membership with this body.

The additions to the Library and Reading Room have also been larger than usual;—amounting to 876 bound volumes; 1,980 pamphlets; 125 manuscript documents; and 19 current periodicals. These are all donations or deposits. Among them is a complete set of the publications

of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, elegantly bound, and the cover of each volume on the outside bearing the inscription, "*Presented by the Congregational Union of England and Wales to the Congregational Library, Boston, United States*,"—a pleasing and valuable testimony of the appreciation attached to this enterprise by our brethren over the water. The Library Hall at present contains 5,627 bound volumes; 16,880 pamphlets; 925 manuscripts; and 43 periodicals, of which 4 are quarterlies, 18 monthlies, and 21 weeklies or semi-weeklies. None of these collections have cost the Association a penny, except for freights and postage. They have come chiefly from the 2,300 members scattered over the land; and they possess a value far above the \$2,300 which those members paid as an entrance fee. In this view it will be seen that the dollar which makes one a member for life, and invests him with a permanent ownership, is not so slight a consideration as would seem at first thought; but is to be regarded rather as the most effectual, if not the only feasible way of drawing forth those "spoils of time" which it is a leading object of the Association to rescue from lonely attics and dark closets where they are mouldering to dust, or awaiting the flames.

Another indication of progress is found in the additional rents received for accommodations furnished in the Congregational Building. Besides the rooms taken up for our own use—estimated at \$700 per annum—five other rooms are let to seven different societies, paying, in the aggregate, \$1,040. Had it comported with the design of the Association, in purchasing the estate, to admit respectable tenants of any class, every room could have been let, and the aggregate of rents would have been more than double what it now is. The tide of business flowing in a broader and deeper current daily towards this locality, the demand for rooms can never be less, and will probably be greater.

But the most considerable step towards the attainment of the objects of this Association the past year, is the establishment of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY. The idea of a publication of some kind, in connection with the Institution, is coeval with its existence, and is recognized in several annual Reports as essential to the full development of its aims. A year ago last January the "Prospectus" of such a periodical was presented to the Directors, and discussed, and unanimously approved. But owing to the financial crisis then approaching, it was deemed unwise to start the enterprise at that time. A committee, however, was chosen, with instructions to watch the indications of Providence, and report the first favoring tokens. It was full nine months before the business of the country had sufficiently revived to warrant the undertaking; and even then the state of our treasury rendered it extremely imprudent for the Association to assume any additional liabilities.

At this juncture, and before the Directors had come to any result, they learned that certain parties had projected a plan for publishing a periodical of the nature contemplated, and were willing to connect it with the Library Association on conditions mutually acceptable; and the first number was issued in January. These conditions, stated in the briefest terms, are;—that the Quarterly be published in the Congregational Building without charge for rent, and under the sanction, but not under the control, of the Congregational Library Association;—that the publishers receive the entire profit, should any accrue, for the first three years;—that if the Association at the end of that time, or at any time after, choose to assume the ownership and control of the Quarterly, they may do so by paying its value as appraised by disinterested referees, mutually chosen, with the understanding that the share held by their Secretary, one of the publishers and editors, shall revert to the Association without purchase, when the three years expire. Under

these auspices, and with not a subscriber pledged, an edition of 3,000 was printed, which from present indications, will be all taken up, and more will be wanted. It was not expected, of course, that a periodical like this, of four or five hundred pages, offered at one dollar per annum, would immediately remunerate the publishers. But they hope, through the favor of the public, to avoid any absolute loss of money; and that, with a persistent effort on their part, the Congregational Quarterly will at length become a productive property.

Before the second number was issued, the American Congregational Union at New York, by the consent of all parties, was admitted into co-partnership on equal terms with this Association,—and their Secretary was added to the publishing and editorial corps. This was done with the express understanding that the Year-Book, hitherto published by that body, be henceforth discontinued, and the Quarterly hereafter be the repository of our ecclesiastical statistics; and that no change be made in the place or the terms of its publication. This movement is evidently destined to exert an important influence, not only in extending the circulation of the periodical, but also in combining the moral forces of the denomination. In no other way was it possible for this Association and the publishers of the Quarterly to have done what, in all coming time, will so effectually serve “to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,” among the entire Congregational family in our land. Through the pages of this periodical—the organ of no school in theology or morals, and the antagonist of none—the historical memorials of our Puritan fathers, their principles and practices, their “doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith,” will be made known to multitudes of their descendants, who, though dwelling on opposite sides of the continent, will, by this means, be held in sympathy with each other, and prepared to act in concert. An object so identical with the design of

the Congregational Library Association will be hailed with joy by every member, who will also, it is hoped, enroll his name as an annual subscriber.

The Directors regret their inability to report equal progress in the financial department. A debt of \$16,000 still remains on the Building, contrary to our expectations at the last Anniversary. It was presumed that the pastors, who had not already done it, would bring the subject before their people; and that the people would make that “one collection,” which, without a formal pledge, yet by a general understanding, each congregation is expected to furnish, in aid of this building fund. But only thirty-four such collections have been received during the year, amounting in all to \$1,146 11. This, added to what has been obtained from individual donors and other sources, makes the total receipts a fraction short of \$5,000. Had only half the Congregational churches in New England responded as these thirty-four have, the debt would have been extinguished; or had those benevolent friends who are intending to enroll their names on the list of individual donors, been pleased to do so the past year, the same result would have ensued, and the Institution would now rest on a self-sustaining basis.

The Directors cannot ascribe this delay to indifference. Even from quarters where earnest appeals have failed to bring funds, they have brought expressions of deep interest in the undertaking and the promise of help at some future day *when other more pressing necessities have been relieved*. And here, we apprehend, the main difficulty lies. The embarrassments into which so many long-cherished objects of benevolence have been thrown by the late financial disasters, are unquestionably the cause of neglecting this newer and less known enterprise, which, it is hastily judged, can be postponed without much peril. Thus the Congregational Library Association is restrained from its purpose, like a strong man fettered just as he is

entering upon a race; and thus, if the restraint continue, the spirit of discouragement and distrust thereby engendered, will grow at length into a more fatal hindrance to success than even the want of funds.

But it is not to be supposed that these delays are to last. There are many signs of a change. The embarrassments of other benevolent societies are getting relieved. The claims of this are becoming better understood. The circulation of the *Congregational Quarterly* is awakening a new interest in its behalf, by illustrating its objects and realizing its aims. The partnership into which the Congregational Union at New York has been drawn with us in support of this periodical involves a mutual co-operation in respect to other interests,—especially this of paying for our Building. In view of these and similar facts which to the eye of faith appear like signals of divine Providence held out

to cheer us on, we cannot doubt that the coming year will show a more prompt and liberal effort than the past. But the surer ground of hopeful and vigorous action is found in the results already achieved, especially when viewed in connection with the difficulties that have beset our path. The breadth of our membership and the moral power wrapped up therein; the number and character and value of our collections, together with the practical uses they already answer; the possession of such a building as we now own, and the realization which it begins to give us of a CONGREGATIONAL HOME—these great results, greater than the most sanguine could have looked for in so short a time—while they challenge our gratitude for the past, inspire us with confidence in the future.

In behalf of the Directors,  
J. S. CLARK, *Cor. Sec.*

#### ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

Dr.	<i>The Congregational Library Association, in account with JAMES P. MELLEDGE, Treasurer.</i>	Cr.	
To cash paid mortgage note for Trustees of			
Sears Estate,	13,000 00		
Interest on same,	463 67		
" due Rev. J. B. Felt,	18 00		
note in favor of A. Hardy,	2,877 35		
Interest on same,	210 90		
on account, note in favor of A.			
Kingman,	1,750 00		
fire insurance,	98 09		
services of Secretary, Librarian,			
and Financial Agent,	1,800 00		
J. C. Sharp, for services,	24 00		
hire of boy, care of building, &c.,	106 00		
Rev. J. S. Clark, for sundry bills			
paid by him,	87 33		
travelling expenses,	86 80		
for furniture and repairs,	23 11		
F. A. Benson, bill of coal,	43 00		
city tax on Estate in Chauncy			
Street,	172 00		
N. I. Bowditch, examining title,	75 00		
Healey & Burbank, drafting deed			
to city,	2 00		
printing last Annual Report,	72 20		
use of Central Church for Anniversary meeting,	15 00		
bal. to Cr. new acc't.,	37 05		
	<u>\$20,961 50</u>		
		By balance, previous account,	74 73
		" am't of donations from individuals,	2,250 00
		" Congregational collections,	1,146 11
		" cash rec'd for rents,	927 00
		" " " fixtures sold,	6 16
		" loaned by Geo. S. Dexter, for which	
		the Treasurer's note was given,	
		payable on demand with int'st,	16,000 00
		" rec'd for Life memberships,	57 00
		" " of City of Boston, for land tax-	
		ken to widen Chauncy Street,	500 00
		By balance above account,	<u>\$20,961 50</u>
			<u>\$37 05</u>
Boston, May 21, 1859.	E. and O. E.	JAMES P. MELLEDGE, Treasurer.	
Boston, May 21, 1859.	This abstract of the Treasurer's Report is correct.	ALPHEUS HARDY, Auditor.	

Boston, May 21, 1859.

E. and O. E.

JAMES P. MELLEDGE, *Treasurer.*

Boston, May 21, 1859. This abstract of the Treasurer's Report is correct. ALPHEUS HARDY, *Auditor.*



## CONGREGATIONAL BUILDING FUND.

The following subscriptions,\* donations and collections have been received (excepting a few hundred dollars subscribed, but not yet paid) for the purchase of the Association's building on Chauncy Street, Boston. Each contributor of \$25 has been enrolled an honorary Life Director, unless he has designated some one else. If it appears that Massachusetts and Rhode Island are the chief contributors thus far, it is not because the sons and daughters of the Pilgrims in these two little States have a more direct personal or local interest in the matter, than their brothers and sisters elsewhere. As a means of commemorating the fathers of New England, and of keeping alive their principles, and of drawing the bonds of brotherhood more closely around their descendants, this enterprise appeals with equal force to all the members of the great family, wherever dispersed.

## MAINE.

Portland, W. T. Dwight, 50 00

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Amherst, E. S. Snell, 5; L. Sweetser, 5, 10 00  
 Andover, Theol. Sem., to cons. Prof. A. Phelps, D.D. Life Director, 25 00  
 " So. Parish, John Alken, Esq., 10 00  
 " Ballards Vale, Mrs. Mary P. Greene, 5; 40 00  
 Boston, Old South Ch., C. Stoddard, 250 00  
 " Park St., E. Lanson, T. Bachelier, and J. Finch, each 100; Wm. T. Eustis, 50; S. K. Whipple and E. C. Coker, each 25; other individuals 53.04, 453 04  
 " Essex St. Ch., A. Kingman, 1,000; J. Tappan, 500; J. B. Feit, 200; C. Scudder, A. Wilkinson, and G. W. Thayer, each 100; N. Adams, 50, 2,050 00  
 " Bowdoin St. Ch., T. H. Marvin, 100, to cons. Rev. L. F. Dimmick, D.D., of Newburyport, and W. T. H. Marvin, of Boston, L. Directors; G. P. Fitchard, 50; L. Norcross and T. R. Marvin, 25, to cons. Rev. E. Johnson L. D., 175 00  
 " Salem St. Ch., F. Snow, 100; G. S. Low, 50; D. Pulsifer, 25; B. Whittemore, 25, 200 00  
 " Pine St. Ch., H. M. Dexter, 200; J. D. Kent, 25, 225 00  
 " Central Ch., W. Ropes and A. Hardy, each 500; others 14.58, 1,014 58  
 " Mt. Vernon Ch., J. A. Palmer and E. S. Tobey, each 500; E. N. Kirk, 200; G. W. Crockett and S. D. Warren, each 100; D. T. Coit, 50; S. Bliss, A. Hobart, J. W. Kimball and G. P. Denney, each 25; others 12.50, 1,562 50  
 " Shawmut Ch., F. Jones, 300; C. Smith, 25, 325 00  
 Not included in the above, H. Lee, Jr., 100; H. B. Hooker, 75; S. H. Kiddle and P. Flisk, 50 each; A Friend, 25, 300 00  
 Braintree, First Ch., 47; South Ch., 14.84; Union Ch., 11.58, 73 42  
 Brighton, T. O. Rice, 25; others, 49, 74 00  
 Brookline, J. W. Thornton to cons. Rev. J. B. Thornton, of St. John, L. D., and C. B. Dana, each 25, 50 00  
 Cambridge, Shepard Soc., G. G. Hubbard, 500; E. Whitman, 500; Z. Mosser, 50; A. Bullard, 25, 675 00  
 Cambridgeport, J. W. Gates, 40; E. M. Dunbar and C. H. Warren, each 25, 90 00  
 Carlisle, col. in Evangelical Ch., 6 00

Charlestown, Winthrop Ch., W. Carlton, 200; E. P. Mackinire, 100; G. Hyde, 25, 325 00  
 Chelsea, Winthimmet Ch., I. P. Langworthy, J. Campbell and J. Taylor, each 25; others, 25, 100 00  
 Dorchester, 2d Ch., N. Carruth, 250; J. H. Means and Mrs. M. Brown, each 100; Mrs. N. Oliver and Mrs. B. Oliver, each 50; J. Martins, T. D. Quincy and J. Tucker, each 25; others 50, 675 00  
 Easthampton, S. Williston, 100 00  
 Essex, col. in Cong. Ch. to cons. Rev. J. M. Bacon, a L. D., 27 50  
 Fairhaven, of which 29 is from Ladies, to cons. Rev. J. Willard a L. D., 50 00  
 Fall River, Central Ch., N. Durfee, 200; others 21, 221 00  
 Framingham, O. Barrett, 25; others 18.25, 41 25  
 Greenfield, First Ch., 10; Second Ch., 25, to cons. Rev. P. C. Hoadly, a L. D., 35 00  
 Groton, W. B. Hammond 25; co. from others, 28.08, to cons. Rev. E. A. Bulkley, Life Director, 51 08  
 Hamilton, A. W. Bodge, 5 00  
 Holliston, of which 25 is from Ladies, to cons. Rev. J. T. Tucker, L. D., 57 45  
 Hopkinton, J. C. Webster, 5 00  
 Ipswich, G. W. Hoad, 25 00  
 Leonister, J. W. Fletcher, 5 00  
 Lynn, First Ch., 150; Central Ch., 41.32, 191 32  
 Marshfield, First Ch., 12 40  
 Medford, 2d Ch., S. Train, 100; others, 29, to cons. Rev. E. P. Marvin L. D., 129 00  
 " Mystic Ch., G. James, 100 00  
 Medway, East Par. 6.25; West Par. 9; Village, 14, 29 25  
 Milton Railway Village, 12 00  
 Needham, Grantville Ch., to cons. Rev. Mr. Atwood L. D., 25 00  
 Northbridge, Whitinsville Ch., 56 00  
 North Bridgewater, Campello Ch., 14 00  
 New Bedford, North Ch., of which 25 from ladies, to constitute Rev. H. W. Parker L. D., 47; Trinitarian Ch. 25 to cons. Rev. W. Craig L. D.; Pacific Ch. 26 to cons. Rev. T. Stowe L. D., 98 00  
 Newton, 1st Ch., W. Clafin, 100, others, 51.50, 151 50  
 " West Par., J. S. Clark, 200; Miss S. Baxter, 25 to cons. Rev. G. B. Little L. D.; C. Rich, J. White, G. N. Nichols, and S. Jones, each 25; others 86, 411 00  
 " Eliot Ch., J. W. Edwards, J. C. Potter, and J. N. Bacon, each 100; D. K. Hitchcock, 50; R. L. Day, D. Harwood, and F. A. Benson, each 25; others, 14, 439 00  
 " Auburndale Ch., C. C. Burr, 100; S. Harding, 50; F. P. Shumway, G. F. Walker, and C. W. Robinson, each 25; others, 51, 276 00  
 Northboro, W. Fay, 25 00  
 Orleans, Cong. Ch., 6 00  
 Palmer, 2d Ch., to cons. Rev. J. Valli, D.D., L. D., of which 41 from the State Farm School, to cons. Rev. E. B. Wright L.D., 66 00  
 Phillipston, S. W. Barnum, 25 00  
 Pittsfield, H. Humphrey, 5 00  
 Plymouth Center Ch., T. Gordon, 25; ladies 25, to cons. Rev. N. Blanchard L. D.; others, 22, 72 00  
 Plympton, col. in Cong. Ch., 5 00  
 Quincy, Mrs. Lucy Marsh, 50; others, 23, 73 00  
 Randolph, 1st Ch., E. Aiden, 100; others, 17, 117 00  
 " 2d Ch., of which 25 from ladies, to cons. Dr. E. Russell L. D., 50 00  
 Roxbury, Eliot Ch., R. Bond, 200; W. W. Davenport, 100; R. Anderson, 25; others, 100, 428 00  
 " Vine St. Ch., H. Hill, 200; J. P. Ropes, 100, 300 00  
 Salem, Tabernacle Ch., of which 25 from ladies, to cons. Rev. Dr. S. M. Worcester L.D., 87; South Ch. to cons. Rev. J. E. Dwinell L. D., 31; Cromble St. Ch., R. P. Waters, 250; J. M. Hoppin, 100, 468 00  
 Sandwich, Monument Ch., E. Dow, 25 00  
 Saxonville, G. B. Northrop, 10; others, 16, 26 00  
 Stoneham, Cong. collection, 12 00

Sturbridge, of which 25 from ladies, to const.	
Rev. S. G. Clapp L. D.	66 75
Templeton Cong. Ch.,	8 00
Uxbridge, W. C. Capron, 25; others, 19.50,	44 50
Ware Village Ch., W. Hyde, 25; others, of	
which 25 to const. Rev. A. E. P. Perkins	
L. D., 46,	71 00
Warren, to const. Rev. S. S. Smith L. D.,	47 00
Westboro', of which 25 from ladies, to const.	
Rev. L. H. Sheldon L. D.,	50 00
West Brookfield,	11 00
West Cambridge, J. Field, 500; A. G. Peck,	
100; J. Burrage, 25; ladies, to const.	
Rev. D. Cady L. D., 25,	630 00
West Roxbury, F. D. Ellis, and T. T. Rich-	
mond, each 25; others, 5,	55 00
" Jamaica Plain, A. H. Quint,	25 00
Weymouth, South Par. 2d Ch., to const. Rev.	
J. P. Terry L. D.,	25 00
" Union Ch.,	16 00
Winchendon, North Ch., to const. Rev. A. P.	
Marvin L. D.,	25 00
Worcester, Central Ch., D. Whitcomb,	100 00
" Union Ch., J. Washburn,	50 00

## RHODE ISLAND.

Barrington, of which 25 from ladies, to const.	
Rev. F. Horton L. D.,	49 00
Bristol, to const. Rev. T. Shepard, D.D.,	
L. D.,	38 25
Providence, High St. Ch., A. C. Barstow,	
100; S. Woicott, 5,	105 00
" Beneficent Ch., W. S. Greene, 25; A. H.	
Clapp, 5,	30 00
" Central Ch., J. Kingsbury, 25; L. Swain,	
5,	20 00
" Richmond St. Ch., to const. Rev. J. Lea-	
vitt, D.D., L. D.	25 00

## NEW YORK.

Brooklyn, Ch. of Pilgrims, C. W. Moore,	25 00
New York, L. Mason, 50; S. B. Hunt, 50;	
W. Patton, 25; D. B. Voe, 5; W. C. Gil-	
man, 5,	135 00
Walton, Rev. J. S. Pettingill's Cong.,	7 00

## OHIO.

Portage, Dudley Humphrey,	3 00
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THE CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY is open daily, (Sundays excepted,) from 7 o'clock, A. M., in the summer, and 8 o'clock in the winter, till sun-set, at the Congregational Library Building, 23 Chauncy Street, Boston.

DONATIONS IN MONEY OR BOOKS, and all communications relative to the general interests of the Association, should be sent to Rev. JOSEPH S. CLARK, *Corresponding Secretary and Librarian*.

QUARTERLY MEETINGS of the Association, for reading essays, &c., are held at 3 P. M. on the last Wednesdays of August, November and February, besides the Annual Meeting on the last Tuesday of May. Meetings of Directors are held on each of the other months at the same day and hour.

FORM OF A BEQUEST.—I give unto the Treasurer, for the time being, of the "Congregational Library Association," the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ dollars, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of such Treasurer shall be a sufficient discharge.





*W.<sup>m</sup> Phillips.*